LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 156 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MARCH 13, 1943 NUMBER 11

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 361

EDITORIALS
- Strategic Frontiers and Collective Security 364
- The Man-Power Muddle 365
- While the Jews Die *by Freda Kirchwey* 366

ARTICLES
- Words Are Not Enough *by Archibald MacLeish* 368
- What Has Happened to Hitler? *by Joachim Joesten* 372
- Why Food Is Scarce—II. *by James G. Patton* 374
- Seventy-five Years Ago in *The Nation* 376
- How to Curb Absenteeism *by James A. Wechsler* 377
- In the Wind 378

POLITICAL WAR *edited by J. Alvarez del Vayo*
- Finland's "Peace" Offensive *by Jack Gerber* 379
- The Yankees Arrive 380
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 382
- File and Remember 383

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 384
- To a Camofleur. A Poem *by Lynn Riggs* 384
- Under and After Mussolini *by Gaetano Salvemini* 385
- War Primer for Civilians *by Robert K. Haas* 386
- English Pageant *by Keith Hutchison* 387
- Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 388
- Out of the Old South *by Grace Adams* 390
- In Brief 391
- Art *by Jean Connolly* 391
- Music *by B. H. Haggin* 392

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 393

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 4 *by Jack Barrett* 396

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL • JONATHAN DANIELS • LOUIS FISCHER
REINHOLD NIEBUHR • J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Published weekly and copyright, 1943, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 856 National Press Building.

The Shape of Things

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE OUR TROOPS landed in North Africa, the fortunes of political war on that front have begun to favor the cause of the United Nations as distinguished from their purely military interests. General Giraud has at last stated the simple proposition that a country freed from Nazi rule need not obey Nazi law. This new French revolution was encompassed in an eleven-word official paragraph, to wit: "A decree signed in Vichy is not valid in French Africa." What is more, the General's spokesman announced over the Algiers radio that Vichy "governs contrary to French national feeling" and that "nothing can be expected of this shadow government of prisoners and traitors." What is still more, the General specifically wiped out official anti-Semitism in North Africa, abolished the agency in charge of making life difficult for Jews, and dismissed the official who as recently as March 3 published Vichy racial decrees in the *Journal Officiel* of Algeria under the seal of Marshal Pétain and his Chief of Government, Pierre Laval. Even in Morocco, which is under the control of the unsavory General Noguès, government workers dismissed by Vichy were reinstated and the ban on foreign radio stations was lifted. For all these improvements we rejoice, but we do not imagine for a moment that the battle is over. Ground has been given slowly—under pressure, not out of conviction. Giraud and his regime, reports Drew Middleton of the New York *Times*, "continue to make surface moves toward liberal government and political reforms, but in most respects they are essentially the same as they were when they first took office. What is needed is a salesman who will convince them that the cause of the United Nations is just. They already know that that cause will win."

*

THE BATTLE OF THE BISMARCK SEA TURNED out to be the most decisive in a long string of United Nations victories in the South Pacific. For the first time in modern warfare an entire convoy was destroyed by air action alone. While the American fliers undoubtedly had luck on their side in this engagement, the results can be laid primarily to careful preparation and effective teamwork. According to General MacArthur's official communiqué, the efficiency of the attack was extended to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the "mopping up of barges, lifeboats, and rafts from the sunken ships of the . . . convoy"; so that "practically all were destroyed [and] there was scarcely a single survivor." In the absence of more details on the exact location of the engagement, it is difficult to pass judgment on this aspect of the operations. If the sinkings occurred within a few miles of the convoy's destination at Lae, and a considerable number of Japanese troops were likely to get ashore with their equipment to continue the fight, such a massacre might be justified under the laws of war. But if our airmen merely indulged in the same sort of indiscriminate strafing of lifeboats which the Nazis have engaged in, the action is indefensible even against the most ruthless enemy.

*

THE RECENT DRIVES LAUNCHED BY JAPAN to "drive China out of the war" now appear to have been far weaker than was first supposed. In no instance has the enemy gained more than transitory success. North of Shanghai a Japanese attempt to trap a Chinese force has failed, and the Japanese appear to have fallen back to their original positions. In Kiangsi they have been forced to withdraw in the same area in which they suffered a severe setback last summer. The greatest Japanese success was gained in the mid-winter offensive along the Burma frontier, but the force that had advanced some thirty-five miles northward into China along the west bank of the Salween is now reported to be in full retreat after a Chinese counter-attack. Japanese attacks in Hunan, Honan, and Suiyuan are also said to have been repulsed. Although China has been relieved by those victories from any immediate military threat, its critical economic and supply position is unimproved. The Allied campaign in Burma appears to have bogged down before it was fairly started, and recent reports from the American air force in China indicate that it has been only slightly strengthened since the days of the "Flying Tigers."

*

NO ONE IN HIS SENSES—UNLESS HE WERE AN Axis agent—would knowingly stimulate the growth of feeling against Russia. Close relations between the Soviet Union and its allies are essential—today, for winning the war; tomorrow, for establishing a peaceful Europe. Hitler, knowing this, is doing his best to whip up dread of the "Bolshevik menace" among the people of the Allied countries and to encourage the tensions that have already developed. This is good strategy because feeling against Russia is undoubtedly growing. Stalin recognizes this tendency and knows its danger; he has several times gone out of his way to assert his faith in Allied unity. At the same time it must be admitted that the Anglo-American contribution to the war has in fact been minimized in his speeches and in the internal propaganda of the Soviet government. This belittling treatment of United Nations aid has been something of a sore spot, but until this week's outburst by Ambassador Standley it was not a major issue, largely, we believe, because Americans and Englishmen know deep down that the thousands of tanks and planes we have contributed to the eastern front do not tip the balance against the millions of lives contributed by Russia. Now Standley has dragged the issue into the open, accusing the Soviet government of deliberately hiding from its people the facts concerning Anglo-American aid in order "to create the impression that they are fighting the war with their own resources." Indirectly, he has threatened that a continuation of this attitude might condition the extent of further lend-lease aid. As we go to press, it is impossible to say whether or not the Ambassador spoke with inspiration from Washington. From the undiplomatic tone of his remarks we suspect that he was sounding off on his own and that something in the way of an official repudiation will quickly follow.

*

ON ANOTHER LEVEL AN IRRITANT TO GOOD relations with the Soviet Union is the execution of the Polish labor leaders—Ehrlich and Alter. The record of these men provides the strongest possible refutation of the charges of anti-war activity on which they were condemned by a Soviet court martial. They were not Socialists of a pacifist stripe. On the contrary, they helped organize the valiant resistance to the Nazis of the workers of Warsaw, and kept up the struggle long after the Polish government had fled. That they were anti-Communist is certain, but it is not easy to believe that, as Poles, stranded in Russia and wholly at the mercy of the Soviet government, they engaged in conspiracies against the regime. Whatever their offense, the act of the Russian military authorities has outraged opinion in other countries, especially among Socialist and Jewish workers, who were slowly coming to realize the need of closer ties with their fellow-workers in Russia. And in reactionary circles, where the fate of two labor men would ordinarily be a matter of vast unconcern, the executions are being used as another instrument against the unity of Russia and the West. For this the chief responsibility lies with the Soviet government. The execution of Ehrlich and Alter was not only bad justice; it was also bad propaganda. But people in this country have a responsibility too. It is no accident that on the same day pickets marched up and down in front of both the British and the Russian consulate in New York; those groups which allow their sympathy for the cause of Indian freedom to boil over into anti-British propaganda are equally ready to use the death of the two Polish Socialists as the basis for an anti-Soviet campaign. Such behavior plays directly into the hands of Goebbels. The enemy in this war is still the international fascist conspiracy headed by Adolf Hitler—and not either one of our chief allies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY WALLACE'S SPEECH BEFORE THE Conference on Christian Bases of World Order might have been subtitled A Plain Man's View of the World. It was bold, simple, and utterly disinterested. Even its religious overtones, which in the mouths of public officials usually sound like a politician's set phrases, held no hint of hypocrisy, for Wallace is genuinely religious. His description of the "three great philosophies in the world today"—the Prussian, the Marxian, the democratic—might not satisfy the political philosopher, but it was a description that is basically sound and easily understood by the ordinary person. We are grateful to Mr. Wallace for speaking frankly of the third great conflict which will be the penalty the plain man must pay if he fails to fight for a decent peace after World War II. We are particularly glad, in this connection, that Mr. Wallace talked sense about the German people at a moment when even intelligent men and women are preaching hatred and extermination. They are, he said, "neither better nor worse than Englishmen, Americans, Swedes, Poles, or Russians"; but for a hundred years, and especially in the last ten, they have been systematically educated to the belief that might makes right, that war is glorious, that the state is all supreme. They must be reeducated—but here again Mr. Wallace offered no imposed panaceas. "It is not up to the United Nations to say just what the German schools of the future should teach, and we do not want to be guilty of a Hitler-like orgy of book burning. But it is vital to the peace of the world to make sure that neither Prussianism, Hitlerism, nor any modification of them is taught." Within these limitations it is the "many cultured German scholars with an excellent attitude toward the world who should be put to work on the job of rewriting the German textbooks in their own way." Finally, Mr. Wallace stated with fresh force that unless the Western democracies and Russia come to a satisfactory understanding before the war ends, World War III will be inevitable.

*

IN THE SECOND PART OF HIS ARTICLE, Why Food Is Scarce, James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers' Union, discusses the food-production program which he presented last week to the National Economic Stabilization Board. Mr. Patton's objective is to increase the contribution to the nation's food supplies of some 2,000,000 medium and small farms which have a margin of unused capacity. He proposes that this should be done by pooling labor and machinery and by a government investment of $1,000,000,000. This may seem a large sum, although it is only 1 per cent of this year's budgeted war costs. But in any case it is a small price to pay if it saves us from a condition of scarcity that will hamper the war effort. Moreover, the alternative seems to be to let prices rise unchecked until supply and demand reach an equilibrium—a policy which would cut the living standards of everyone and add untold billions to the cost of the war. Mr. Patton believes that the present price level is satisfactory on the whole, but he urges a system of forward prices so that the farmer will know what return he may expect when he sows his crop. It cannot be said that prospects for the adoption of this program are very hopeful. The farm bloc in Congress has shown little interest in the small farmer, and Mr. Wickard, the Secretary of Agriculture, seems bent on appeasing the farm bloc, as we noted last week. The latest step in this direction is permission to farmers to increase cotton-planting allotments by 10 per cent despite the fact that we have abundant short-staple cotton. The excuse given is that the by-product of this crop—cotton seed—is an excellent source of protein feed and edible oil. But according to Professor Theodore W. Schultz of Iowa State College, "in terms of oil yield peanuts do three times as well as cotton seed per acre."

*

THE UNITED STATES POST OFFICE HAS decided to deny second-class mailing privileges to an obscure organ called the *Militant* on the ground that it has attempted "to embarrass and defeat the government in its effort to prosecute the war." From the little we have seen of the periodical and from what we know of leftist splinter politicians, we find it easy to believe that the *Militant* entertained such gaudy ambitions but impossible to believe that it had the faintest chance of realizing them. Censorship of the press is in its nature so risky that we favor a rigid adherence to the Holmes doctrine of taking no action except in cases of "clear and present danger." If the *Militant* represented anything like the menace of, say, *Social Justice*, we would witness its complete suppression without a qualm. But a few facts should make apparent the fatuousness of the Post Office's solemn action in the case of the *Militant*. Of the paper's total circulation of 12,000 (probably an inflated figure), only about 1,200 readers receive their copies through the mail. Presumably these are subscribers, and as such confirmed Trotskyists of the same persuasion as the *Militant's* editors. They don't need the paper to be stirred to the heretical belief that this is an imperialist war; they start out with that conviction. In short, the Post Office is using a dangerous power so that 1,200 individuals will no longer learn by second-class mail what they already think they know. The government has been sparing in the use of its censorship powers in this war, and we are sorry to see it set a dangerous precedent to so little purpose.

*

A MERE HEADLINE READER MIGHT ASSUME that the greatest threats to war production these days are absenteeism—and glamor. On another page of this issue, as no *Nation* editorial writer can refrain from pointing out, James Wechsler deals with absenteeism. We defy anyone to deal with glamor. Telling women war work-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers to "forget sex appeal"—we quote Miss Dorothy Sells of the Office of Defense Transportation—is almost as futile as telling men to go and do likewise. But Miss Sells is not dismayed by a problem that has been with us for a long time. She goes right on to denounce the "well-filled sweater" (it sounds like a War Aim) and asserts sternly that "women need firm discipline." Uplift in this country, as any brassière manufacturer will tell you, has come to stay. It seems to us that Miss Sells is forgetting another old problem—reproduction—without which wars could not even get under way. In Germany of all places, glamor, according to Wallace Deuel, is now encouraged after an early unreproductive attempt to stamp it out as non-essential. We have been told to learn from our enemies; and from the pictures we've seen of Nazi Frumpy Frauen it seems quite possible that the glamor girls on the American assembly line, even if they induce absenteeism, are an asset rather than a liability. In any case, we doubt that sumptuary legislation —or factory rules—against sweaters, lipsticks, or the seeing eye will get very far. Nature will take its course, even in Mother Hubbards.

Strategic Frontiers and Collective Security

THE series of sharp exchanges between Moscow and the Polish government-in-exile over the delimitation of frontiers, after the Nazis are liquidated, again calls attention to the urgent necessity of "a common strategy for peace"—to quote the recent report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Russia's tough attitude in respect of the little Baltic states and eastern Poland has shocked a good many people in this country who feel that it is already repudiating the Atlantic Charter. On the other hand even some of our reactionaries are praising the Kremlin for being "realistic" and urging that we should make haste to follow its example.

Russia's claims for expansion beyond its pre-1939 borders are being justified on more than one ground. Eastern Poland, it is asserted, is largely inhabited by Ukrainians and White Russians who ought not to be separated again from their brothers in the autonomous Soviet republics of White Russia and the Ukraine. One can sympathize with this argument when one recalls that not so many years ago the treatment of the Ukrainian minority in Poland was one of the major scandals of Europe.

It seems certain, however, that Russia's major reason for demanding the inclusion within its boundaries of the Baltic states and the disputed Polish territories is a desire for "security." Used by a hostile power, this area would form a massive springboard for attacks directed against Leningrad and Moscow. It was to avert this danger that the Soviet Union extended its frontiers in 1939 and thus added to its defense system a depth which stood it in good stead in the summer of 1941.

But do exigencies that existed when Hitler was at the height of his power justify demands at the expense of small nations after Hitler is liquidated? The answer depends largely on the sort of world we are to have after the war. If we are going to have a genuine system of collective security, strategic frontiers ought to become an obsolete conception. But at present it cannot be said that we, any more than the Russians, are proceeding on that assumption. It is true that a good deal of lip-service is paid in this country to the ideal of collective security. The Russians, however, may be forgiven if they pay more attention to the fact that, far from attempting to clothe that ideal with reality, many of our spokesmen seem preoccupied with the question of strategic security for America.

Secretary of the Navy Knox, for instance, is currently agitating the question of acquiring Pacific naval and air bases. And he has made it clear that he is not thinking about the Japanese mandated islands, which we may eventually hope to capture, but rather about bases in territories owned by our allies, who, he suggests, should be invited to turn them over to us in perpetuity in return for lend-lease contributions. Moreover, Mr. Knox has just told us that his department is planning for a "permanently enlarged fleet."

If after the Axis is defeated, the world is to slide back into the pre-war international anarchy, Messrs. Stalin and Knox can hardly be criticized. But we do not believe that the peoples of the United Nations are willing to resign themselves to such a future. There is a demand for collective security which the statesmen will ignore at their peril. And the time to lay its foundations is now, before the defeat of our enemies opens the way for a free-for-all game of strategic grab.

No plans for collective security can be even formulated without the definite assurance of participation by the United States. At the end of this war we shall command a greater force for good or evil than the world has ever known. We shall possess the greatest air force, the greatest navy, and the greatest war plant, together with a very large army. This predominant position will give us the inescapable responsibility of choosing either to direct the world toward a peaceful future or to persuade it by our example to turn once again to the delusive security of strategic frontiers and back-breaking armament programs.

As the Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace points out:

> The British will hesitate to commit themselves to a new colonial or commercial policy if they fear that the United States will again retire into isolationism after

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this war. The Russians may feel it necessary, in self-defense, to seize important points in Europe unless the United States will accept her share of the responsibility for collective security in the world. The Chinese do not care for hegemony in the Far East, but they may find it necessary to protect themselves if there is no international system to give them protection. The American republics must delay their planning for the future until the policy of the United States is made clear.

Such assurances cannot be given by the Administration alone. Our allies remember all too well that Woodrow Wilson was repudiated by Congress, and they will feel no confidence in any proposals put forward by Washington unless they are underwritten by the legislative arm of the government. Recently there has been some faint stirring of interest in such questions on Capitol Hill. Senator Gillette has put down a resolution urging the President to negotiate an agreement giving substance to the Atlantic Charter, and Senator Pepper has made the excellent suggestion of a joint Congressional committee to study post-war problems. Even more interesting is the news that Senator Bennett Clark, one of the leaders of the isolationist bloc prior to Pearl Harbor, is considering the introduction of a joint resolution favoring "the establishment of a system of collective security, including international, social, economic, and military protections and . . . the effective participation of the government of the United States in the maintenance of this system." We hope Senator Clark will persevere in this project. The passage of such a resolution would have an electric effect on the United Nations and would assure him a place in history.

The Man-Power Muddle

AS THE man-power situation becomes more critical, Washington's utter lack of a basic policy becomes more evident. Each of the half-dozen Congressional committees studying the problem has come up with its own solution. One wants to revise our draft procedure so as to give blanket exemption to farm workers. Another would throw out the principle of occupational deferments and reinstate dependency as the chief basis of deferment. The Education and Labor Committee of the Senate some weeks ago sponsored a bill to set up a civilian Office of War Mobilization to coordinate all man-power activities, while the House Appropriations Committee recently eliminated from the budget an essential appropriation for strengthening the one agency, the United States Employment Service, that is capable of bringing order out of chaos in local communities.

This confusion in Congressional ranks has greatly hampered Manpower Director Paul V. McNutt in dealing with the increasingly acute situation. As long as McNutt was content to tinker with minor aspects of the problem he encountered no opposition from Congress. But the moment he attempted to come to grips with the problem by such drastic action as the "work-or-fight" order, the forty-eight-hour week in critical areas, and measures to freeze men in war jobs, a drive was started against him. As a result he has been unable to offer the kind of leadership the situation demands.

Mr. McNutt has insisted that the country's man-power needs can be met most effectively by voluntary measures. Accordingly the War Manpower Commission has placed chief reliance on local labor-management stabilization agreements designed to reduce labor turnover and speed the transfer of workers from non-essential to essential industries. It cannot be denied that these stabilization agreements have improved the situation in many localities. Labor piracy has been greatly reduced; discrimination by employers against women and Negroes has been cut down. Nevertheless, these voluntary arrangements are not putting men and women in jobs as rapidly as is required in an all-out war program. Donald Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, recently testified before a Senate committee that the country is short 2,250,000 workers of the number needed to achieve and maintain present production goals. This does not take into account the shortage in agricultural labor, estimated at nearly 1,000,000. Moreover, the War Manpower Commission has been inexcusably slack in long-range planning. Apparently it has not tackled the most fundamental of all problems, that of balancing military and civilian man-power needs. And it has never taken adequate steps to recruit and train women workers. It has been conspicuously lax in encouraging the organization of day nurseries and facilities for the care of older children which would release mothers for war work.

In an attempt to offset the Manpower Commission's lack of planning, the President has appointed a special committee headed by Stabilization Director James F. Byrnes to consider basic policy. Its report is not yet available. But as a result of the failure of McNutt's voluntary program, there is an excellent chance that on its recommendation Congress will pass the Austin-Wadsworth war-service bill. This bill would apply the principles of Selective Service to the recruitment of essential workers in war industry and agriculture. No one can quarrel with these principles. In a total war no distinction should be made between a man's obligation to serve on the fighting front and on the home front. Women should be expected to serve to the limit of their capacities in the same way as men. Advocates of the Austin-Wadsworth bill are probably correct in insisting that the government's right to assign workers in accordance with the country's needs must be established by law before we can bring order out of the present man-power chaos.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But a labor draft can be successful only if the public is convinced that it is the fairest and most efficient method of distributing the burdens of war. In England the demand for a labor draft came very largely from the common people, who knew that sacrifices must be made and who asked only that they be made by everyone. Organized labor was strongly behind the plan. There is no reason to believe that American labor would react any differently if it were given an effective voice in planning the details of the program and were assured that the interests of the average worker would be adequately safeguarded.

In its present form the Austin-Wadsworth bill virtually ignores labor's interests. It contains no provision for protecting organized labor in union or closed shops against dilution by unorganized workers. There is nothing in the bill that would prevent a skilled worker from being moved arbitrarily from a highly paid to a poorly paid job in the same or another industry. Nor is there protection against discrimination because of race, sex, or union affiliation. Passage of the Austin-Wadsworth bill without these elementary safeguards might stir up a hornet's nest of labor opposition that would seriously delay the war effort. But we believe that it is possible to work out a compromise measure that will prove acceptable to all groups in the population.

While the Jews Die

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

JEWS in Europe are being killed because they are Jews. Other innocent people are being killed too—hostages, men and women who resist oppression, old people who consume food needed by German soldiers and workers. But only Jews are being killed without other excuse or cause than the fact that they belong to a single religious-racial group. Hitler has promised their total liquidation, and he is carrying out that promise as fast as his Mobile Extermination Squads can work. They work fast. Seven or eight thousand Jews a week are being massacred. The ghetto of Warsaw, two years ago the dumping ground for Jews from all over occupied Europe, is now depopulated. Every Jew is dead. In Cracow, where 60,000 Jews lived, 56,000 have been killed.

The ways in which these slaughters are conducted have been reported. The numbers have been verified. The story is old. But the killing goes on. And as Hitler's armies are forced step by step back into Europe, the tempo of extermination quickens. He must hurry now lest the liberating armies arrive in time to rescue some fragment of the doomed race. It is not fantastic to believe that even when Hitler is overthrown, he will find profound compensation in leaving behind him a Europe "cleansed" of the hated Jew.

If this happens, no one living today will escape retribution for the crime. For the purge of the Jews is only positively a Nazi crime. In this country, you and I and the President and the Congress and the State Department are accessories to the crime and share Hitler's guilt. If we had behaved like humane and generous people instead of complacent, cowardly ones, the two million Jews lying today in the earth of Poland and Hitler's other crowded graveyards would be alive and safe. And other millions yet to die would have found sanctuary. We had it in our power to rescue this doomed people and we did not lift a hand to do it—or perhaps it would be fairer to say that we lifted just one cautious hand, encased in a tight-fitting glove of quotas and visas and affidavits, and a thick layer of prejudice.

Today we hear something is going to be done. Secretary Hull has suggested a meeting at Ottawa of the executive committee of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees appointed at the Evian Conference in 1938. This group will undertake "preliminary exploration" of the problem of the Jews in occupied Europe. But the exploration, it seems, is to proceed along rather well-worn trails. For, as Mr. Hull assured the British government, the United States government feels "that it has been and is making every endeavor to relieve the oppressed and persecuted peoples. In affording asylum to the refugees, however, it is and must be bound by legislation enacted by Congress determining the immigration policy of the United States."

By all means let's have the conference. But let's remember that it wasn't called because our government felt impelled to do something about the greatest crime committed in our generation. Not a move of any sort was made until a delegation of prominent Jews called on Secretary Hull and the President of the United States on December 8 and presented them with verified accounts of the massacres in Poland which were simultaneously released to the press. The President and Mr. Hull promised action. But nothing happened until more than a month later, on January 20 to be exact, when Lord Halifax presented an aide-mémoire to Secretary Hull expressing the "concern" of the British government over the killings. And then it took another month for Secretary Hull to reply with the note quoted above. Hundreds of thousands of Jews fell into their self-dug graves while our government, with glacial slowness, moved toward a proposal to confer and to explore. And in view of this record of delay it is fair to wonder whether even this modest step would have been taken if a great mass-meeting of protest had not been called for March 1 in Madison Square Garden in New York—a meeting organized by the American Jewish Congress and sponsored by a group of important labor and liberal organizations. Mr. Hull's note to Lord Halifax was dated February 25. It was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made public the day after the mass-meeting took place.

Whatever the sequence of events, we must be glad that some voices were loud enough to penetrate the official armor. But let us not bank too much on the new "Evian" conference. The first one was held in 1938 while it was still possible to save the Jews of Europe. But Hitler is still busy with the job of exterminating 5,000,000 of them. Let us be hopeful—but not sanguine.

And let us also acknowledge the uncomfortable fact that if a group of American Jews had not demanded action, nothing, not even a conference, would have resulted from the horrors in Europe. Let us acknowledge that in shame. And let us ask ourselves what has come over the minds of ordinary men and women that makes it seem normal and indeed inevitable that this country should stolidly stand by and do nothing in the face of one of the world's greatest tragedies until the Jews themselves press for action.

But what on earth could we have done more than we did do? We let in refugees until people protested that jobs were being taken from good Americans by an invading army of aliens. We let them come in to the limit of the quotas—provided, of course, that they had money and good sponsors and respectable political views. We did our best—all that public opinion and Congress and our State Department would permit. And why should we do it all, anyhow? How about Palestine? Why don't the British let them in there? And how about South America and Canada and Australia?

This is the sort of question non-Jewish Americans ask when they are faced with Jewish suffering and the reproaches of their own conscience. But the questions are not impressive, and the answers are easy.

One answer is that we could have cut down those barbed-wire defenses strung along our shores. We could have suspended the immigration quotas for the duration of Hitler. We could have raised funds to support refugees who couldn't bring out any money. We could have chartered ships to bring them from Europe. We could have put any questionable individuals in detention camps or segregated them on a Caribbean island. We could have offered an example of decency and humanity to a world hungry for evidences of good feeling.

We could have done all this. But we wouldn't have had to be quite so generous. An easier answer was at hand. We could have made the resolutions of the Evian conference a reality instead of a hollow gesture. We could have entered into an agreement for common action with the other anti-Axis nations—an agreement to absorb all the victims of Hitlerism who were physically able to escape—each nation taking a quota decided upon with due regard to its size and wealth and capacity to absorb immigrants. If the United States had taken the lead in such a move, I am certain that no nation would have refused its cooperation. And under such a scheme, the burden on each would have been insignificant.

But nothing was done. Every nation established its own restrictions, the United States admitting no more immigrants than in the days before the persecutions began. And so we come to the horrifying present.

The resolutions adopted by the mass-meeting at the Garden the other night were restrained and practical. Here they are, in summary:

1. Through neutral intermediaries, Germany and the governments of the states it dominates should be asked to release their Jewish victims and permit them to emigrate.
2. The United Nations should designate sanctuaries, in Allied and neutral states, for Jews whose release may be arranged for.
3. American immigration procedures should be revised in order that refugees may find sanctuary here within existing quotas.
4. Great Britain should be asked to receive a reasonable number of new refugees and accommodate them for the duration.
5. The United Nations should urge the Latin American republics to modify their immigration regulations sufficiently to provide refuge for agreed numbers of Nazi victims.
6. England should be asked to open the doors of Palestine for Jewish immigration.
7. The United Nations should provide financial guaranties to neutral states offering refuge to Jews from occupied territory.
8. The United Nations should organize the feeding through neutral agencies of victims forced to remain under Nazi oppression.
9. The United Nations should undertake the financing of the program here outlined.
10. The United Nations are urged to establish an intergovernmental agency to implement the program of rescue here outlined.
11. The United Nations are urged to appoint a commission forthwith to implement their declared intention to bring the Nazi criminals to justice.

This is a good program, though more moderate in several details than I would wish. How far it will influence the coming conference at Ottawa remains to be seen. One thing is certain. The United States—or the United Nations as a whole—will save only as many Jews as they are inflexibly determined to save. If the representatives of the anti-Axis powers meet in a mood of impatience, prepared to deal on a minimum basis with a difficult and irritating problem—if, in short, the mood of the past prevails—nothing will happen at Ottawa or after. Europe's remaining Jews will be saved only if their anguish has become unbearable to men and women who live in safety at a distance. They will be saved only if we recognize their fate as inextricably linked with our own.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Words Are Not Enough

BY ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

THE Speakers' Committee of a Chicago association wired me recently that the association wanted me to talk about psychological warfare but hoped I would call it something else. No neater summary of a complicated matter was ever sent by Western Union. "Psychological warfare" as a title repels almost as many Americans as "psychological warfare" as a subject fascinates. It sounds too much like a Pennsylvania hexing party, or the art and skill of jabbing heated needles into small wax dolls. The picture of a group of adult males, some of them in uniform, sitting as a "Committee on Psychological Warfare" to plot the undoing of the psyches of their enemies is a picture in which the elements of comedy, mystery, and terror are so inextricably confused that the ordinary citizen cannot make up his mind whether to grin or shiver.

There is a good deal to be said therefore for a discussion of the realities as distinguished from the terminology. What precisely are we talking about when we talk about psychological warfare? Are we talking about a new terror of war like the terror—infinitely overrated—of bacteriological warfare or of chemical warfare? Are we talking about a secret weapon invented, this time, by Freud? Are we talking about the use of whispers by wireless and shouts over loud speakers—the dissemination of rumors on crowded roads and the broadcasting of panic? Or are we talking about something else?

We should have no difficulty in agreeing, I think, that we are talking, if we are talking seriously, about something else. It is not, that is to say, the black arts or the ingenious devices or the clever tricks which principally concern us. It is not even the offices and agencies of government in which this form of warfare is conducted. It is the form of warfare itself. The offices and agencies of political and psychological warfare both here and in Great Britain are offices of communication and dissemination—hard-working and overburdened men and women whose days and nights are filled with programs and publications, with radio and leaflets, with the problems of timing and the problems of beaming and the problems of interpretation, and the over-all, ever-present problems of intelligence—of the understanding and the integration and the fitting together of the complicated facts. They are not, here or in Britain or in any honest country, the manufacturers of a product but its distributors. And their activities, fascinating though they may look through the darkened glass of professional reticence, are not the real object of intelligent concern. The real question, the question that is never asked by those whose interest is in mystery and melodrama, is the question of the substance of the thing itself. What warfare? Waged by whom? And with what weapons?

There will be various answers to that question, depending on where it is asked. There is the answer, for example, of those who believe psychological warfare is a bright, new branch of military warfare which can be "planned" by the generals and the strategists in a guarded room with a secret staff of experts and advisers, as you would plan a movement of troops. There is the answer of those who believe that psychological warfare is an operation for psychologists, to be run as you would run a psychiatric clinic, and of those again who look upon psychological warfare as an activity for journalists, to be practiced on typewriters, or a profession for refugee scholars and refugee statesmen who know how to play by short wave on the fears and aspirations of their countrymen in Europe.

These are the answers commonly heard, but none of them, or so it seems to me, is true. And for a very simple reason—that none of them takes account of the essential nature of the action. What we are really talking about when we talk seriously of psychological warfare is, I submit, nothing more mysterious and nothing less important than the effort of a nation at war to enlist the opinion of the world—enemy opinion as well as neutral opinion or friendly opinion—in support of its position and its purposes. Psychological warfare, in other words, is nothing more and nothing less than that branch of warfare of which the field of battle is men's minds and the objective men's opinions—a form of warfare waged to conquer, not cities or islands or elevations or continents, but the convictions of the world. A nation, to put it prosaically, wages psychological warfare to convince its enemies that they cannot win and to persuade the rest of humanity that it not only can win but will win and should win and furthermore deserves their help in winning.

It is unnecessary to point out that there is nothing novel about such warfare except the word "psychological"—which has somehow or other become attached to it in our time—and the methods of communication, such as short-wave radio and leaflets dropped from planes, which are now employed in its prosecution. Generals have always fought on the battlefields of men's minds as well as on the battlefields provided by geography. Indeed, the ultimate victory sought in any war is in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evitably a victory of opinion. It is not by massacre of one's opponents to the last male child that wars are won but by the persuasion of the enemy that further resistance would be useless. The purpose of modern psychological warfare is precisely that purpose. Psychological warfare aims to do, more adroitly and with less expenditure of men and iron, what Caesar did by the fame of Rome and the unanswerable logic of the Roman legions.

The objectives have not altered. And neither—and this is the essence of the matter—have the weapons of this warfare. It is still by its armies and by its actions as well as by its broadcasts and its leaflets that a modern nation convinces its enemies of its strength, and its neighbors of the desirability of coming to its aid. With a nation as with a man it is the total impression—the conduct summed up in terms of character—which counts. And with a nation as with a man actions speak far louder than words. It will do you very little good, and may indeed do you considerable harm, to say you are powerful if in fact you are losing battles. And it will not help you but will certainly injure you if you protest the nobility of your principles while you display a preference for expediency in your acts.

The addition of the word "psychological" has not changed these all too obvious truths. It may be, though readers of Greek poetry will doubt it, that the psychologues have discovered aspects of human fear and aspects of human self-interest unknown to earlier men, but these discoveries, if they have been made, have left the principles of human conduct unaltered. You can so appeal to the fears of the world's reactionaries and the self-interest of its petty tyrants as to persuade them, if you are Dr. Goebbels, that you are the savior of truth and virtue, but no one else will believe you indefinitely if your own conduct in Germany and in conquered Europe makes it obvious that your protestations are not true. No inventiveness in the arts of terror or seduction can change the fact, now or ever, that nations, at war as at peace, speak to the world and persuade the world by the things they do as well as by the things they say—and more convincingly.

The point needs making not because it is obscure but because it is too easily forgotten. Men, and men not of the least intelligence or the smallest authority, speak sometimes as though the actions of a nation could be divorced of their significance in the world of human judgments—as though there were such a thing, for example, as a purely military action having only military meaning—as though a military action could be stripped of its human meaning and left dumb and inarticulate and meaningless as a stone. An action which could not be justified on any other ground may, it is true, be justified on military grounds, but it is foolish to hope that any act of a nation at war will not be interpreted by the watching world as an expression of that nation's actual character and inner purpose. And it is a little unrealistic to expect that the world or anyone in it will think of the most purely military action in purely military terms, as though it were an abstraction of military science or a footnote in a history. We did not so consider the military action by which Nazi Germany overran Poland, and we were not impressed by the contention of the Nazis that they were acting solely in a military capacity in their own defense.

The same thing is true of all the actions of a nation at war—its conduct of its international relations, its production of goods and weapons, the way its people behave, their determination and purpose, their ability to endure privation and suffering and even death. These are the expressions by which the nation speaks and is heard and understood. And these, therefore, are the essential weapons of the warfare for men's minds. The nation which carries the strategic points of opinion, the nation which captures the dominating heights of belief, is the nation which convinces the world by the total effect of its conduct as a nation. It is the wholeness of the expression which counts, for the wholeness of the expression is the guaranty of its sincerity.

The phrase about ideas being weapons is a good phrase and within the limits of its picturesqueness a true phrase, but as a guide to the practice of this form of warfare it is quite misleading. The implication is that a man's ideas will fight for him like his dog, and that in a struggle between opposing ideas the best idea will win. But the fact is that in the battles for men's minds ideas will fight for you only if you make them yours; and neither with nations nor with men are ideas appropriated by speaking them in words. There is no doubt in the mind of any sane and healthy man that the idea of human freedom is superior to the idea of human slavery, but unless the world is convinced by the totality of United Nations behavior that human freedom is on the United Nations' side in this war and that human freedom for others, as well as for ourselves, will follow from our victory, the idea of human freedom will not fight our battles for us.

It is unnecessary to look far for proof of the proposition that ideas will fight only for those who deserve to own them. The Nazi attempt to capitalize upon the worldwide fear of communism is the classic case. The world was generally agreed that communism was hateful. It was ready therefore to applaud and encourage the opposite of communism. But not all the efforts of all the propagandists in Germany were able to persuade anyone but General Franco and a few Balkan dictators that the opposite of communism is fascism. Nazi propaganda would have won its great victory, and the war as well, had it been able to persuade the peoples of Europe and the Americas that the ideas opposed to the idea of communism were its ideas. It failed because every expression of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nazism in action rather than in words suggested that the contrary was the case.

But there is no need to labor the point. The theory is clear enough, and the record is even clearer. The question before us here is the question of the application of this theory and record to the practice of psychological warfare. If the real weapons of what is miscalled psychological warfare are the actions and the declarations of a fighting nation as they affect the opinions of that nation's enemies and of the world besides—the total actions of that nation—then how should this form of warfare be considered? Is it an auxiliary to other forms employing purely military weapons? Or is the opposite the case—is military warfare only one of the means by which this larger warfare, this warfare of the nation's total will, must be conducted?

The answer, I think, is obvious and would be even more obvious if the adjective "psychological" could be sponged out for good and all. What we are really talking about when we talk about the battle for men's minds is not a *part* of warfare, an *incident* of warfare, but the *whole* of warfare, of which other actions make the parts. Even in the medieval wars of mercenary troops military action was only the most persuasive of the various means of convincing an adversary or attracting an ally. And what was true in the mercenary wars of the fourteenth century is considerably truer in the total war of our own time. Military action remains with us the most convincing, as it is the most difficult, of the warlike arguments, but not even the military argument can persuade alone. The Battle of Britain is the eloquent and moving proof. Britain was beaten—except that Britain was not beaten. And today the Nazi propaganda agencies hold out to the victims of the catastrophe at Stalingrad the example of the British nation, which turned military disaster into a people's victory by something else than arms.

But if this is true, then certain obvious conclusions follow as to the conduct of the warfare for men's minds. First, it can be conducted only by those who direct the total effort of the entire nation, those who can commit the nation by their words and make their acts its acts. Second, in democratic countries, and to a certain extent even in dictatorships, it can be conducted only with the support and participation of the people as a whole.

"ACCORDING TO PLAN"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED.

The first point is obvious enough both in principle and practice. If a nation affects the opinions of the world by its total conduct as a nation—its production as well as its armies, the behavior of its people as well as the behavior of its diplomats—then the direction of these expressions of the nation's character and purpose can be exercised only by those who represent and speak for the nation as a whole. It cannot be exercised either by the generals or by the foreign office or by any other *section* of the government. And in practice, both here and in England, it has been the officer of government who alone can speak for the nation as a whole who has most effectively conducted this all-inclusive warfare. The most powerful blows delivered by Britain and the United States in the battle for men's minds have been delivered by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt.

One need only recall the words and actions by which the loss of British prestige at Dunkirk was turned into the greatest victory British repute has ever won to estimate the role played by the Prime Minister in the struggle to convince the world, and above all to convince the German people, that Britain cannot be defeated in this war. And as for our own country, the massive blows we have struck for the defeat of the hopes of our enemies and the assurance of our own have been struck, one after the other, in words and acts as well, by Mr. Roosevelt. The Arsenal of Democracy, the Four Freedoms, Lend-Lease, the declaration of unlimited emergency, the order to shoot on sight, the production program of 1942—these, one after the other, were victories in the war for men's opinions, and they were victories gained, one after the other, by the President. The President and the Prime Minister are both, it is true, masters of the spoken word. But it is not for this reason that their declarations have taken strategic point after strategic point in the struggle for belief. Their declarations have been powerful because both combine the mastery of words with the mastery of action and because they speak, both of them, as the elected and supported leaders of their people.

For the second point as to the conduct of the warfare for men's minds is as important as the first. This warfare can be successfully conducted, at least in democratic countries, only with the support and often with the participation of the people. More penetrating and more powerful than anything the people of America may say by leaflet or by radio abroad is the echo overseas of what the people of America have said at home. The transmitters may tell the people of China after their ten years of agony that the American people are their friends and wish them well and will supply them as best they can with guns and planes to fight with, but their words are of little meaning beside the worldwide echo of the roar of approval which went up in the House of Representatives a month ago when the President spoke in praise of China. And so too the transmitters may repeat to every corner of the occupied countries of Europe the great commitments of the Atlantic Charter, but unless these commitments take breath from the words the Americans speak to each other in their talk at home, the assurances will not be heard.

The fact is that the opinion of a nation—its true and real opinion, the opinion it speaks to itself and hears from itself and accepts—is itself an action in this war. If the Nazis believe that we here believe that we shall surely win this war—believe it with understanding of the meaning of the words we speak, believe it soberly and grimly and speak of it in grim and sober earnestness between ourselves—their hope that we will be defeated is, by that much, shaken and decreased. If the peoples of the occupied countries and those who fight beside us in this war believe that we believe in freedom and in decency—believe in these things with an understanding of the meaning of the words, believe in them earnestly and with the devotion with which our fathers and our grandfathers believed in them—their determination to survive and to resist beside us will be that much greater. The people's morale in a democratic country is not an end in itself, whatever it may be in a dictatorship. The people's morale is a means, and one of the most powerful of all the means, by which the purpose of the people may be won.

The determination, for one example, of the American people will almost certainly decide the success or failure of the effort of their government to win, beyond this war, a lasting peace. The principal danger to that hope today is the danger that our allies in the war, remembering the defeat of Mr. Wilson's undertakings by the Senate, and realizing therefore that no American President and no American government can make commitments in advance, will decide now that each must take such measures as he can, alone and for himself, and will proceed, as opportunity permits, to take them. The inevitable consequence of such a course of action would be a repetition of the history of the last disastrous years. And yet that course of action will certainly be taken unless the world can have some reasonable and believable assurance that if other peoples will put their trust in order we will add our trust to theirs.

Such an assurance can be given under our system, as the world now understands, only by those in whom the ultimate sovereignty resides, and by them only in human, not in legal, forms. And yet, so pressing is the necessity, so terrible is the alternative, there is little doubt that a clear indication of the purpose of the American people to bear their part in making peace would satisfy the Allied nations. They have learned by bitter experience the limitations on the powers of the American Executive, but they still believe that the will of the American people

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is binding on their Senators and Presidents and that the people of America can make their purpose good.

It is therefore strictly and precisely true that the most critical struggle this nation's government has ever attempted on the battlefield of world opinion depends for its success upon the participation of the American people. There is reason, I think, to believe that the participation of the people is assured. No disinterested observer questions the people's thinking on this subject. Even in sections of this country where private ministries of propaganda, conducted under the guise of the publication and the sale of "news," have attempted to stifle and suppress the people's thinking and to give distorted pictures of American opinion to the world, the truth is quite apparent. The people of this country are determined that there shall be peace. They know that peace has obligations and responsibilities, and they are ready to assume those obligations and responsibilities. They know what happened before. They know what it cost them. And they have made up their minds that it shall not happen again, and that no man nor any group of men shall make it happen.

There is no question that the American people have made up their minds. But neither is there any question that unless American opinion can be so declared that all the world will hear it—unless the truthful interpretation of American opinion can be set above those other interpretations which traduce it and distort it—this battle for a decent and a lasting peace may have been lost before we start to fight it.

What Has Happened to Hitler?

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

THIS is no inside story from the Führer's headquarters, but merely an attempt to distil a few drops of truth from a welter of facts and rumors.

The mystery of Hitler's whereabouts, his prolonged silence, and the Wagnerian orgy of gloom after the Stalingrad disaster have produced a flood of conflicting and generally unsubstantiated reports that Hitler is (a) dead, (b) insane, (c) permanently intoxicated, (d) prisoner of the Russians, (e) under arrest, (f) ill. What are the known facts underlying these rumors?

✓Hitler made his last public appearance on November 8, 1942, when he addressed a Nazi Party rally at Munich on the anniversary of the beer-hall putsch. Six weeks earlier he had spoken at the Berlin Sportpalast. In his Munich speech Hitler, as usual, went far out on a limb. He said about Stalingrad: "I wanted to take it. And—you know we are modest—we actually have it. There are only some very small spots left." He also promised early eviction of the Anglo-American forces which had just landed in North Africa.

But things didn't come off a bit as he had planned. The Germans met with continuous reverses both in Russia and in Africa: Stalingrad, Kursk, Rostov, Kharkov, and Tripoli were lost in rapid succession. Hitler made no more speeches; nor did he appear in public. He even failed to show up at two of the party's greatest memorial dates—January 30, the tenth anniversary of its rise to power, and February 24, the official birthday of National Socialism. On both occasions he addressed the faithful by proxy, in manifestos read by Joseph Goebbels and Hermann Esser. The wondering party comrades were given the unconvincing explanation that the Führer was too busy on the eastern front to attend the celebrations. Perhaps he really could not absent himself from the front; but there are many technical devices that will carry a leader's voice to a far-off audience from any place of his choosing.

There is no point in discussing whether or not the two written messages were Hitler's own compositions. Many persons find them as Hitlerian in spirit and style as "Mein Kampf." On the other hand, some very discerning observers think they are just clever imitations. Surely it would not be beyond Goebbels's ability to produce outpourings which Hitler himself might mistake for his own stuff.

What is important is that we did not hear the voice. (If Hitler's voice could be imitated, that would have been the time to do it.) Nothing can explain Hitler's failure to speak, through a microphone or from a record, but the assumption that he was physically or mentally unable to do so. Hence the rumors.

Let us now examine the plausibility of each rumor.

Hitler is dead. This is sheer speculation, unwarranted by any known fact. Since his failure to appear or to speak could be explained by many other contingencies, there is no need to attribute it to death. As for the three-day national mourning after Stalingrad, this is a far-fetched argument for the theory of Hitler's demise. Why shouldn't a highly dramatic regime like the Nazis' mourn over a military catastrophe of such magnitude?

Hitler is insane. The obvious answer is that he has always been insane, and that this has never prevented him from making speeches.

Hitler is drinking. This is the kind of "inside story"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a correspondent facing a dearth of copy would dream up. It ranks with the recurrent stories of Hitler's sexual orgies. All such reports are contradicted by the known facts about the type of man he is.

Hitler is a prisoner. If the Russians had captured him, you can be sure they wouldn't hide him under a bushel. Nothing is more damaging to the morale of the enemy than to announce the capture of his commander-in-chief.

Hitler is under arrest. This could happen only after a military coup d'état. But it is absurd to think that the generals would arrest the Führer and leave his principal henchmen untouched. If and when the military strike, you can be sure that all the leading Nazis will be taken care of.

Hitler is sick. This is the only assumption that stands up under scrutiny. And it is not a mere guess. There are good reasons to believe that the Führer is really seriously ill.

The main evidence supporting this theory comes from the "Chief," the mysterious announcer who broadcasts daily over the secret German radio station Gustav Siegfried Eins. It is quite irrelevant in this connection whether the "Chief" is a voice of the German underground or broadcasts from somewhere outside the Reich —there are reports that he is a high German officer. Whoever he may be, and whomever he may represent, the "Chief" has proved many times that he knows what he is talking about. He has uncanny information about the most secret happenings in the Third Reich. He has many notable scoops to his credit. For instance, he revealed as early as last October 28 that Hitler had replaced his Chief of the General Staff, General Franz Halder, with the then totally unknown S. S. general Kurt Zeitzler. At the time nobody believed the story, but Berlin officially confirmed it in December.

In recent weeks the "Chief" has repeatedly referred to Hitler's poor health. On February 2 he said: "The man has utterly overworked himself. He is a physical wreck now as a result of that abdominal trouble [an apparently serious ailment which the "Chief" had mentioned once before]. But instead of undergoing an operation he lets that brute, Dr. Brandt, pep him up with injections. And these injections drive him even more crazy." And on February 15: "The man is washed out, physically and mentally exhausted. All those who have seen him in recent weeks have had to confirm this impression. . . ."

This description of an ailing Hitler is strikingly borne out by a recent photograph which shows him precisely at his last public appearance in Munich. The caption calls attention to Hitler's "touseled hair, rather sagging jowls, pouchy eyes, a double chin, and enlarged midriff." Indeed, the picture is so startling that one is tempted to doubt its authenticity. Yet according to reliable information, it is an actual photograph of Hitler in the beer hall, sent to London through neutral channels. If the Führer looked like that four months ago, one can imagine what the débâcle in Russia must have done to his declining health.

Another significant item has just been added to these indications. On March 3 the London *Daily Sketch* reported in its "inside-information" column that Hitler was at his mountain retreat at Berchtesgaden and that it was believed he had not been at the Russian front for two months. And, said the paper, Hitler's physician, Professor Sauerbruch, has recently left Berlin for an unknown destination. Dr. Sauerbruch, who also treated President Hindenburg, is one of Germany's foremost surgeons, a specialist in internal complaints.

All this adds up to the conclusion that Hitler is in fact gravely ill and probably laid up at his Berchtesgaden home, where Sauerbruch now at last may be performing the operation which "that brute" Dr. Brandt tried to avoid by means of injections. The Rome report that Hitler and Mussolini have just met "somewhere in Germany" seems to confirm rather than contradict this impression. Of course it is possible that the news was "planted" to reassure the Axis public that Hitler is still alive; on the other hand, there is no reason why such a meeting should not take place at the Führer's bedside, even though he is too ill to appear in public.

The "Chief," in baring Hitler's state of health, had a purpose: he has persistently exhorted the Führer to relinquish active command of military operations and again to intrust the conduct of the war to firmer and more experienced hands. For the "Chief" would by no means rejoice over a complete German defeat; on the contrary, he is violently anti-Soviet and nationalistic. He is believed to belong to the officer clique which now detests Nazism because it has forever destroyed Germany's chance to conquer the world. He and his kind do not relish the sight of a human wreck interfering autocratically in military operations.

The most interesting feature of the whole mystery is that Hitler, in the past few weeks, apparently *has* given up his control of military operations. We need not credit the "Chief" with this achievement, but it was undoubtedly brought about through the efforts of the military circles which he is said to represent. Though Hitler may still be the titular head of the German state and of its army, he no longer commands in the field, nor apparently at home. This conclusion is inescapable if one studies certain recent reports and observes how they all fit into the picture.

From Swedish sources we learn that General Halder is back at his former post and that other competent generals—Guderian is one—have also been recalled from retirement. Besides, the increasing firmness of German lines in southern Russia suggests that military operations are once more handled by professionals, not amateurs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meanwhile, in Germany, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels emerges more and more as the man of the hour. After his recent speech neutral observers expressed amazement at the unusual honors now being accorded the little propaganda wizard. And on February 26 Gunnar Müller, former Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Aftonbladet,* declared that political power in the Reich had passed into the hands of a quartet of high Nazi officials headed by Goebbels. *Aftonbladet* is notoriously German-inspired and unreliable, but this development also has been reported by the more trustworthy correspondent of the New York *Times.*

The most plausible explanation, then, of Hitler's eclipse is that he has at last yielded to the persistent pressure of his generals and other advisers and retired to nurse his ills. These seem to be of a serious nature. We may yet see Hitler die in bed like Napoleon, and possibly of the same disease.

Why Food Is Scarce

BY JAMES G. PATTON

II

IN THE dual role of Secretary of Agriculture and Food Administrator, Claude R. Wickard, an Indiana farmer, faces a task far more difficult than the conversion of American industry to war production. Pearl Harbor, Bataan, and Singapore convinced industry that conversion was necessary; imports of rubber and other vital industrial materials had been cut off. But our food supply did not seem in danger, and many farmers and the public assumed that food surpluses would continue. In attempting to convert agriculture to war, Wickard has to deal with about 6,000,000 farm operators, whereas potential war industries were concentrated in a few hundred enterprises. Politically, he has to deal with farm-bloc Congressmen dominated by men from cotton states sensitive to any proposal to divert millions of acres to the production of food instead of cotton, of which we have about two years' supply on hand.

Although he had no counter-balancing political support from farm organizations, consumers, or the public, Wickard last November considered a sweeping plan for the complete reorganization of the great Department of Agriculture, with its 64,000 employees in every farm county in the nation, into a single machine for the production and distribution of food. He was specifically authorized to do this by the President's Executive Order of December 5. But the political repercussions in Congress, which controlled appropriations, appeared so great that the original plan was shelved and a compromise program adopted. Existing agencies were continued, and after the departure of H. W. Parisius, who resigned as Food Production Director on January 9 in protest against the shelving, Wickard inaugurated great departmental activity. Production goals were raised and support prices announced on several vital crops, including soy beans, peas, grain sorghums, flax, potatoes, and sweet potatoes. Corn, which had been scheduled for a smaller yield in 1943 than in 1942, was stepped up—though only 5 per cent—and its acreage restrictions were removed. Late in February acreage restrictions on wheat were removed. These steps had long been urged by the Farmers' Union. Credit to finance increased production in the sum of $225,000,000 was offered in Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation non-recourse loans, to be administered by local representatives of the county war boards. These are dominated by the AAA, which is now shifting its policy from one of controlled production to one of expansion. The loans are to run for one year at 5 per cent.

Incentive payments were offered to farmers producing more than 90 per cent of such crops as sweet potatoes, soy beans, grain sorghums, peanuts, flax, dried peas, potatoes, dry beans, and truck crops, up to 110 per cent of their production quotas. These payments were to be met out of an addition to the budget of $100,000,000, a request for which in Congress was promptly turned down by farming-as-usual leaders.

The Farm Security Administration, which is assisting nearly 500,000 low-income farmers to produce more, is to be continued—if the President's budget request is honored—but not expanded except for the recruiting, training, transportation, and housing of farm labor for larger farmers. By the time this is read, the FSA will have about run out of rehabilitation-loan funds—at a time when at least half a billion dollars should be available for expanding 1943 food production on the lower two-thirds of the nation's farms.

This program has satisfied no one. Spokesmen for the Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives (dominated by the Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation) late in January served notice on Congress that they would be satisfied with nothing less than the removal of price ceilings. They denounced incentive payments as subsidies and professed a new and passionate love for the free market and natural price levels. Spokesmen for these organizations were critical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the RACC loan program, the Farm Bureau and Grange going to the length of telling Congress that country bankers could meet farmers' new credit needs and should be given exclusive opportunity to do so. Wickard was given scant thanks for increased quotas of farm machinery and fertilizer and for belated steps by Selective Service to keep farm man-power on the farms. These measures were in part the result of Congressional pressure.

Our farm organization, as well as the leaders of some smaller groups which had likewise been urging all-out production since Pearl Harbor, recognized that Wickard had made his decision. While it was being tried, farmers would have to make the best of what was offered.

Although it is now too late to get in 1943 the maximum production of which American agriculture is capable, it is not too late to step it up somewhat. More important, it is not too early to act to get maximum production in 1944. And the world probably will be hungrier in 1944-45 than in 1943-44. What, then, should the program include?

The federal government should appropriate immediately up to one billion dollars to be invested in expanding the nation's farm plant by one-sixth, and it should appropriate another billion and a third to be invested in the following two years. Of this initial billion dollars, it should advance an average of $700 apiece to the 1,200,000 farm operators now producing from $400 to $1,500 in farm commodities annually. Allowing $50 for technical services and administration of each loan, this would total $900,000,000. The remaining $100,000,000 should be used to mobilize, train, and transport—and maintain labor standards for—most of another two million farm families who have so little land, equipment, and other resources that it is advisable to find them employment as farm laborers during the war emergency, thereby giving the top million farms the farm-bred labor they need. It may be that some of this labor can be spared for replacements in industry as inductions into the armed services continue at the rate of 12,000 a day.

For the probable food needs of the next three years, our farm plant is wholly inadequate. Compared with the intensive farming of Europe, American agriculture is inefficient in its use of land, machinery, and man-power. More than three-fourths of our farm families do not have enough livestock, tools, and other equipment to employ their full time efficiently. Many of them, compared to our large commercial farms, are grossly undercapitalized. In World War I we met increased food demands by bringing more land under cultivation. This time we cannot use that easy solution. We must expand production by investing in machinery, fertilizer, feed, and seed, and by better organization of farming operations on the land now occupied.

Even the commercialized farms which are responsible for most of our farm output can improve their methods. The million largest farms now produce two-thirds of the nation's total and are operating near capacity. But they must have machinery, replacement parts, repairs, fertilizer, and man-power to keep up. They can pay for the machinery and the fertilizer; they can pay wages and provide the housing for hired labor. The mobilization and transportation of the labor can best be done by the government as part of the war effort and should be paid for by the government.

Claude R. Wickard

The best opportunity for immediate expansion of production, however, is found among the middle-income farmers, those with gross incomes of between $400 and $1,500 a year. At least 1,000,000 of these farms, and probably 1,500,000, can show rapid production increases if mobilized in a livestock farming program that will provide full year-round employment. Such a program will also help to improve their soils.

Many require additional equipment. New equipment and that already in the neighborhood can be put to maximum use by community agreement. Machinery pools can draw in privately owned apparatus only if (a) the owner is guaranteed first call on his own implement, and (b) the government gives him a guaranty that the machinery will be maintained in working order and returned to him in as good condition as when he pooled it, or, if depreciated or worn out, that it will be replaced. County-wide cooperative machinery associations should be organized among farmers themselves, with government assistance when it is needed. Such cooperatives can schedule maximum employment of machinery, using county- and state-highway machine shops and garages as maintenance-and-repair stations. Of course some farmers have always shared some of their machinery, but now we must have full utilization, working it around the clock when feasible. The machinery inventory of large farms is more than adequate if enough machine operators, replacement parts, and repair services are provided. Big farmers must be induced to share their machinery with smaller farmers.

Farm man-power, both operators and hired labor, must be really stabilized by shutting off the suction of Selective Service and industrial employment. Job "freez-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing" will work even less satisfactorily on farms than in industry. Coercion does not make the best workers. Commercialized agriculture must accept some minimum labor standards of wages, hours, housing, and sanitation.

Many middle-income farm families need somewhat larger farms in order to balance and fill out their operations. They should be assisted with credit and management to lease farms or parts of farms that have been vacated or are poorly run.

A system of forward pricing is necessary, that is, a contract to purchase all strategic foods and fibers at a specified price, together with full insurance against loss. The present level of prices is in the main satisfactory; in a few instances prices are too low, in others too high. But certainty of price is important to the grower. He should know a marketing season ahead what he is going to get. The government must make firm contracts with farmers themselves or with their cooperatives, just as it makes war contracts with industrial plants. Such contracts are extremely useful in getting farmers to shift from familiar to unfamiliar crops, and particularly to high-risk commodities such as flax, hemp, peas, tomatoes, and other truck crops—all vital war foods, all on the deficit list. The government assures manufacturers of financial aid and a market for munitions; likewise it should advance credit and guarantee a market to the farmer who is asked to run five more "fat factories" or five more "milk factories," that is, five more hogs or cows.

Some farmers who expanded peanut and soy-bean production in 1942 were disappointed when they moved them to market, and considerable tonnage, particularly in soy beans, was left in the fields for lack of labor and milling facilities. To prevent a repetition of this failure, the investigation proposed by Chairman Hampton P. Fulmer of the House Agriculture Committee should be useful. This investigation would inquire into the spread of food costs between grower and consumer, particularly into wasteful practices in marketing, processing, transportation, and supplies. We must cut waste of manpower and transportation facilities in the handling of food after it leaves the farmer's gate.

Finally, such steps as I have outlined must be the responsibility of a fully integrated food administration which is in turn fitted harmoniously into one over-all agency for total mobilization for total war.

As a matter of practical politics, conversion of agriculture to war is impossible until Congress feels the public demand. At present Congress is most conscious of the demands of big agriculture seeking ever higher prices, even at the risk of inflation. Closer attention and courageous leadership by the Administration will help. But the people have the last word. Until the people speak, "farming as usual" will continue to produce too little, too late, too dearly.

[Part I of this article appeared last week.]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IMPEACHMENT [of President Andrew Johnson] and the subject of appropriations have occupied most of the attention of Congress this week. . . . We shall be heartily glad to see Mr. Johnson relegated to private life if he should be convicted, but that his fate will furnish either a warning or an example to his successors we do not in the least believe. . . . There is one other consideration, too, more powerful than any, and that is that Mr. Johnson's acquittal will be the death of the Republican Party. Why it will be so, it would be easy to explain; but that it will be so, very few will deny.—*March 5, 1868.*

THE INCREASING infrequency of marriage at the present day is fast getting into the category of topics of universal discussion. . . . The cause, if we mistake not, is nothing less than the higher development of civilization and the new form which modern progress has given to modern life.—*March 5, 1868.*

MR. GLADSTONE has a decided turn for literary pursuits—a weakness it may be called, considering its results. . . . One wonders a little at the almost unqualified praise which the head of the Liberal Party gives Scott as a writer of historical novels. Surely Scott's novels left uncorrected would have made a statue of Cromwell bought with public money an impossibility in England.—*March 5, 1868.*

FOR CRITICAL EXAMINATION in detail, Mr. Darwin's new book ["The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication"] must be referred to the scientific journals and to cultivators and breeders. But whatever audience he may address, a wide circle of general readers is sure to attend the founder of a new *ism,* and the word Darwinism has become as familiar as Galvanism or Mormonism.—*March 19, 1868.*

THE RESULT of the New Hampshire election has not been officially promulgated, but it is certain that Harriman is Governor. . . . On the whole, the Republicans have every reason to be very well satisfied. . . . Their adversaries, too, would be more than human not to be a little disheartened. . . . The Mobile *Tribune,* however, takes almost too melancholy a view of the situation. It receives the news with this welcome: "There is a sulphurous volcanic cloud rising over the northern land; and by the lurid light that gleams along its borders we can see houses in flames, and fields desolated, and outraged women flying with disheveled hair to hide their shame, and mastless hulks with blood-stained decks drifting rudderless on seas whitened no more for ever with the canvas wings of commerce, and cities of the dead whose moldering ruins would topple over and fall with the jar upon the air of a single footstep upon their sidewalks, but the footstep is not there." It should remember that the Democrats have made gains in Biddeford, Maine, and other towns.—*March 19, 1868.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Curb Absenteeism

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, March 6

REPRESENTATIVE RANKIN of Mississippi confided to a half-empty House the other day that God rescued Eddie Rickenbacker so that he might bring Americans the truth about absenteeism. It appears likely, however, that the current furor over hooky-playing among war workers would have occurred without divine intervention. The "strike wave" had been played up too hard at anti-union revival meetings; with walkouts reduced to an invisible minimum, the beat-labor-first bloc desperately needed an issue. And then came Rickenbacker. He accused home-front workers of lying down on (or off) the job, urged suspension of overtime payments as a sobering-up measure, and incidentally opposed the $25,000 salary ceiling as inconsistent with the American dream. He made "absenteeism" a headline word, and he got a lot of lecture invitations.

Since the aviator's first public sermon, the subject of the cause and cure of absenteeism has been magnified to amazing proportions. Most of the talking has been done by those who, like Rickenbacker, appear more eager to discredit labor than to cut down job absences. They have created the impression that the nation's workers, with the stealthy cooperation of the union bosses, are wilfully devising new and ingenious ways of staying home from work. Last week-end Admiral Edward L. Cochrane denounced an epidemic of "twenty-four-hour pneumonia cases" and asserted that the absentee problem "is one which can be solved only between the individual worker and his conscience." The best available evidence indicates that this is bunk. Informed government officials believe that if all "wilful absenteeism" were eliminated, only a minor increase in job attendance would result. Secretary of Labor Perkins has estimated that 90 per cent of the absences are due to industrial accidents and illness. Many accidents and some illness could be prevented, but not by workers communing with their consciences or by admirals delivering speeches.

None of this is to suggest that the loss from absenteeism is trivial. It isn't. People in the best position to know believe we have just begun to get a glimpse of the scope and nature of the problem. Labor Department surveys show that absenteeism in commercial shipyards has averaged about 7 per cent since last April; in air-frame plants, 6.4 per cent since January. The department's *Monthly Labor Review* admits that, apart from specific studies, "there is no statistical information available to indicate the general extent of absenteeism in war industries." All the localized inquiries, however, furnish indisputable evidence that involuntary absences are much more prevalent and serious than week-end binges. This was confirmed by the OWI's recent analysis of government information and by the absentee study prepared by *Fortune*.

The causes of involuntary absence should be pretty apparent, but they have been obscured by the loafing legend. Overnight expansion of war industries has created a multitude of daily annoyances and hazards for war workers. Inadequate transportation facilities become hopelessly snarled in bad weather. (Did any newspapers headline the story of two elderly Connecticut workers who went back to their jobs when war came, tried to walk to work in a blizzard, and perished on the way?) Lack of housing has forced families to live in trailer camps where illness rates have risen steeply; workers at Willow Run have been living in desolate shacks without heat or proper sanitary devices. Such conditions are imperiling the health of employees in many war-industry areas.

Again, the thousands of women who have been added to the labor force are intensifying the rising absentee rate. For one thing, women are less used to the arduous routine; for another, inadequate facilities for the care of their children and unavoidable housekeeping demands compel them to take time off. Similarly, the many older workers who have returned to the labor market are inevitably more subject to accidents, sickness, and fatigue than younger men. In many plants the work-week has been steadily lengthened, sometimes to fifty-four hours or more. British experience after Dunkirk showed that the cost of such an increase is many man-hours lost through absenteeism.

All these factors are by-products of the sudden creation of an industrial war machine. Some can be combated with direct government measures, such as large-scale housing projects. But a large part of the problem, most investigators believe, arises in the war plants themselves and is directly attributable to the negligence or the apathy of the management. Reports to the Labor Department reveal that fatigue, eye strain, poor ventilation, inadequate heat and sanitation, and lack of food facilities are all contributing to illness—and absenteeism. It has been found that steps as simple as providing decent drinking fountains and improved lighting will bring dividends in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

better job attendance. These so-called "frills" become imperative when men are working fifty-four hours a week.

There are usually two sides to every "horror story" about absenteeism. The front pages of many newspapers recently reported that the Bethlehem Steel Corporation had fired 150 welders at its Fore River shipyard because they were guilty of absenteeism. Editorials throughout the country cited the case. Subsequently the C. I. O. produced rebuttals from some of the men dismissed. One said that he had worked seven days a week for five and a half months, then got pneumonia and stayed home for two weeks. He was fired for absenteeism when he went back to work. Another said he went to the hospital for treatment of bleeding ulcers and was similarly dismissed when he returned.

Finally there is the impact of labor hoarding on workers' morale. C. I. O. officials have showed me numerous case-histories of plants which kept workers around idle because materials were lacking but which didn't want to cut their labor force. (Under fixed-fee contracts the government pays the bill anyway, and profits actually decline if labor costs are cut; besides, the materials may arrive some day.) At a Columbus, Ohio, aircraft plant men were told to go out and play basketball in the afternoon —they were "cluttering up" the plant. When this sort of thing happens, it is difficult to persuade an employee that his showing up for work every day may be a matter of life or death for a boy in North Africa or the Solomons.

It is as silly to think of "legislating" against absenteeism as to plan to outlaw the common cold. The real answer has been found in those war plants where labor-management committees are genuinely functioning and are not treated as mere window-dressing. Wendell Lund, labor director of the War Production Board, cites a California shipyard where absenteeism was drastically reduced after a labor-management committee had discussed its causes. The findings were elementary: the yard needed a sweeping safety program, including regulation of crane-loads, use of respirators in spray painting, and solid construction of scaffolding.

Records in the files of the Department of Labor show that this experience has been duplicated in plants throughout the country. Labor-management committees can also plan more effective utilization of the working force. They can stage morale drives which the workers will understand and respect because the leaders come from their own ranks. They can make life unpleasant for the habitual absentee. Unfortunately, too many managements still regard these committees as the prelude to socialism and either refuse to establish them or ignore their existence. Too many managements—and too many Congressmen—prefer the Rickenbacker cure. But it won't work.

In the Wind

THE AMERICAN THEATER WING is finding it hard these days to get actors to take part in its "Lunchtime Follies"—performances which are offered in war factories to ease the strain and stimulate production. Actors and actresses who used to give generously of their time and talent are now frequently "tied up." Direct questions put to several of them have brought the equally direct reply that after Rickenbacker's "revelations" they don't want to do anything for labor.

THE *RUBICON*, an Italian-American news letter published in New York, on war aims: "The reason why we are a democracy (pardon! republic) is not so that we can give democracy to the starving Hottentots and Javanese, but so that we may preserve our own Constitution and Bill of Rights *here*, not for the English, the Dutch, the French, the Russians, the Germans, or the Italians!"

BRAVE NEW WORLD: An article in *Broadcasting*, a radio trade magazine, puts it this way: "With the end of the war will come the golden age of American business and industry, and with it the golden age of good, hard-selling advertising technique."

THE OLD AGE PENSIONERS' ASSOCIATION of Scotland recently held a conference on the Beveridge Report. A unanimously adopted resolution condemned the provision for a graduated pension rising to twenty shillings weekly in twenty years, and advocated an immediate pension of thirty shillings.

A SOCIETY COLUMNIST for the San Francisco *Chronicle* recently visited the Greek consul-general in her city and was given ambrosia and nectar in the form of canapés and cognac. "All this," she wrote, "made me believe that no matter how starving the Greeks are today—and we all know that their situation is indescribably horrible—they are making some pretense at keeping up the niceties they have carried from generation to generation right down from Pericles."

THE NEW ORDER: Danish sources report that the town council of Svendborg has voted to give every child between two and seven years of age one hot bath a month. . . . Of 1,122 children examined in Copenhagen, every seventh had rickets. . . . The Danish press is not allowed to refer to Nazi meetings in Sweden as Nazi meetings. They may only be called "meetings." . . . A special ration of twenty pounds of dog biscuit per month is decreed for Alsatian dogs provided the owner can prove the animal's male parent was German. . . . Official Nazi cars in Holland have horns that give a distinctive sound, and when pedestrians hear it they must clear the road or take their chances of being killed. The published order "also applies to street cars."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Finland's "Peace" Offensive

BY JACK GERBER

SOME of our better-informed news editors and commentators apparently have not yet learned that the smart thing to do about a tendencious story out of Stockholm is to cock an eyebrow and ask: "What good can this do the Germans?" As a consequence of this gullibility, many people took at face value the recent Finnish "peace offensive," first explicit rumors of which came from Stockholm.

But the actual beginning of it goes back to Stalingrad. Nazi propaganda turned the defeat at Stalingrad into "proof" that the "Bolshevik hordes" have the strength to "overrun the world." A major portion of Axis broadcasting time was turned over to "proving" the Soviet intention to rule the world.

For American consumption that kind of talk has a relatively limited appeal. Faced with an imminent second front and the Roosevelt-Churchill "unconditional-surrender" declaration, Dr. Goebbels had to find a gambit so strong it could endanger United States–Soviet relations. During the first week in February Axis short-wave broadcasts directed to the United States suddenly started emphasizing Finland's part in the "crusade against bolshevism." "Finland," gullible American listeners would have believed, "is fighting because the Finnish people know a Bolshevik victory would mean their annihilation." It was apparent that Dr. Goebbels had found his gambit; and a powerful one, as a result of the sympathy so many Americans had worked up over Finland in its 1939-40 war with the Soviet Union.

Simultaneously with the sudden German emphasis on Finland, the Finns opened a new, powerful short-wave transmission directed to the United States. Morning after morning Americans were told: Finland is a fellow-democracy and wants the friendship of the United States; Finland is not "committed to any foreign power"; Finland is fighting only for its independence and territorial integrity against the "Bolshevik aggressor." Said the Finnish spokesmen: "Despite its war with the Soviets, Finland keeps out of the great powers' war."

During the week preceding the reelection of Risto Ryti as Finnish President the United States began to receive "speculation," largely out of Stockholm, that a change of administration would mean a more pro-United Nations foreign policy. Shortly thereafter the first specific "peace" rumors appeared. According to the most concrete of them, Finland was supposed to have made Moscow an offer, via Sweden, containing four points: (1) full recognition of Finnish independence, (2) establishment of "honorable" frontiers, (3) a pledge by Finland to obtain the departure of German divisions in Finland, (4) a guaranty of Finland's integrity by Sweden and the United States.

At that time there was no denial from Finland. Instead, the Finnish radio told Americans that Finland would withdraw from the war "when the right moment strikes and its freedom and independence are secured." Thus encouraged, the "peace" rumors spread for more than a week before the Finns put out an official denial.

Was it really "peace" talk? The four points cited above are all predicated on Russia having been the aggressor against Finland's "independence and territorial integrity." Obviously, the Kremlin could not even look at a plan based on such an assumption. The Finns doubtless know that; more important, the Nazis doubtless know it. A specific proposal that the United States "guarantee" Finnish integrity was mentioned. Guarantee it against whom? Obviously only the Soviet Union.

As to Finland's new propaganda directed to the United States, obviously designed to lay the foundation for American "intervention": Is Finland a democracy? From all accounts it is as thoroughly an occupied country as Denmark. Does Finland really want American friendship? The Office of War Information broadcast a story to the effect that on December 7, 1942, Finnish government officials attended a banquet at the Japanese legation in Helsinki at which toasts were drunk celebrating the anniversary of the Japanese "victory" at Pearl Harbor. The broadcast Finnish explanation of that event was palpably ridiculous: that the Finnish officials had no idea the banquet—on December 7, mind you—would be "turned into a political occasion." Is Finland committed to no foreign power and fighting only for its own independence? Returned American correspondents attest that Finnish troops are fighting on every sector of the Russian front, from Murmansk to the Caucasus.

Every whit of the "peace" and "peaceful" talk regarding Finland has led to one point—the contention of Nazi propaganda that the "Bolsheviks" are the aggressors. If the United States were officially to intervene on such an assumption, our relations with our (to Germany) most important ally would be seriously jeopardized. Alternatively, if enough Americans accepted that assumption independently, there would be the chance that they would put pressure on the Administration for decreased aid to the Soviet Union. Dr. Goebbels will settle for either alternative.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Yankees Arrive

[The document which follows is being circulated widely, though anonymously, throughout North Africa and, we are told, has a way of reaching the breakfast trays of French and Allied dignitaries. It made its first appearance right after the Casablanca conference. As the reader will see, it pretends to be an account of the landing in France next November of the Armies of Liberation, and it so closely follows the pattern of what happened in the North African curtain-raiser that the authorities there are making serious efforts to apprehend the perpetrators of this cruel satire.

The reader will no doubt remember that resistance to our armies was ably led in Morocco by one General Noguès (still at the same job, to judge by all reports) and by one Admiral Michelier. On the evening of November 8 the imminent arrival of the Armies of Liberation was announced to the groups in league with us by a code phrase interminably repeated over the London radio: "Attention, Robert is arriving." When General Bethouart, the principal pro-Ally conspirator in Morocco, went to General Noguès to implore him not to offer resistance to the historical friend and ally of France, the General called Admiral Michelier by telephone and was assured by him that there was not an American ship within a thousand miles. So the General fought, in the name of "honor," and was later hailed as a gentleman and a patriot for his act by some of our military men like Major General George W. Patton, Jr., who, installed in a handsome requisitioned villa, plunged into a whirl of social activity as guest and host alternately of General Noguès and his set, male and female. Active in the resistance to the Americans both during and after the landings was the S. O. L. (Service d'Ordre Légionnaire), French equivalent of the Nazi S. S.

Careful study of this satire leads the editors to believe that any apparent resemblances there may be between "General Gonesse" and General Noguès, "Admiral Chamelier" and Admiral Michelier, "Governor General Breuvage" and Governor General Boisson, "General O. W. Littlepatapon, Sr." and General George W. Patton, Jr., the L. O. S. and the S. O. L. are purely intentional. General de la Laurencie, of course, exists but, unlike General Giraud, is now a prisoner of the Nazis.

Paris, November 28, 1943 (From our Special Correspondent): After the inevitable restrictions of censorship imposed following the Allied landing on the coasts of France I can now cable you the first impressions of my arrival with our liberating troops.

I shall not retrace the landing in detail. Everyone knows that the German high command, after having sent to the eastern front all the troops which had occupied France, had turned over to the government of Vichy the responsibility for defending metropolitan France against aggression, from whatever direction. It is known that General Bridoux, Secretary of State for War, had rapidly reconstituted an army, to which was joined the militia formed by Pierre Laval, the Légion de l'Obéissance sacrée (L. O. S.). He had confided the defense of the west coast of France, the most threatened, to General Gonesse, for seven years Governor General of the Celtic Provinces (Normandy and Brittany), trained in the delicate problems of the Celtic world, and enjoying the full confidence of the government of Vichy.

Let us recall the facts rapidly: On the eve of the arrival of our troops the Anglo-Saxon radio had broadcast ceaselessly the appeal agreed upon: "Attention Toto, Teddy is arriving. . . ." The entire civil population was aware of the landing of our troops—it was, as the French say, a "Harlequin's secret." General Gonesse was not without news of these rumors, for many times during the night he telephoned Admiral Chamelier, the commander of the fleet anchored at Deauville, to ask whether anything unusual had been noticed at sea. The Admiral replied each time that the horizon was as empty as a speech by Marshal Pétain.

During this time our troops joyously prepared to liberate the Celts and the French. Our boys whistled gaily at the thought of marching soon under arches of triumph, amid the enthusiastic acclamation of populations drunk with joy. At Bordeaux there was only token resistance, after which the representatives of the government of Vichy, neutralized beforehand in their beds, rushed to fraternize with the liberators, but things did not go so easily in the sector defended by the valiant General Gonesse. Three days of violent fighting, the greater part of the Deauville fleet destroyed, hundreds of deaths on both sides, such was the toll of the glorious resistance offered to the Liberators.

Meanwhile General de la Laurencie, who had escaped from a German prison, had reported to Bordeaux, where he had taken command of the French troops, in full accord with London and Washington. He lost no time in constituting a High Commissariat, to which he hastened to name, with all the honors due him, the faithful General Gonesse, still covered with the blood of so many French and Allied soldiers. He brought in Governor General Breuvage, who had commanded at Dunkerque and had distinguished himself shortly before by fighting off an Anglo-Gaulliste attack against this great port.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This triumvirate immediately undertook the task of galvanizing French patriotism. It proclaimed that the population would not fail to rise as one man and that, thanks to American arms, Free France would soon equip an army of a million combatants, animated by the magnificent traditions of June, 1940, which would not be slow to hang its washing on the Siegfried Line.

General Gonesse, proud of the confidence of General de la Laurencie and buttressed by his influence with the great chief of the indigenous Celts, immediately became the man of the hour. The commander-in-chief of the American troops, Major General O. W. Littlepatapon, Sr., perceived at once the loyal and dependable character of General Gonesse, unswerving in his diverse convictions. The American general was not insensible to the charms of the French ladies; and his French colleague, always delicately helpful, insisted upon the privilege of introducing him to gracious young women who were to make gay the austere life of the American warrior.

All these things are known. Recent events are less so. I shall run over them rapidly.

While General O. W. Littlepatapon, Sr., surrounded by a gracious bevy of young and pretty French girls, actively carried on the war of liberation in sumptuous requisitioned villas, our troops pushed on in all directions. Everywhere they received the acclamation of the people, enchanted to live under a rain of dollars and to think that these men were going to fight and die for them, thus saving them the trouble. The entry of the Anglo-Americans into Paris and Vichy highlighted, as we know, this rapid campaign, which put an end to the resistance of the L. O. S., brilliantly commanded by Joseph Darnand. The German troops had evacuated France taking with them Marshal Pétain, who, until the last moment, never ceased broadcasting over the radio energetic appeals for resistance against the odious British oppressor and the cynical American conqueror.

It was then that Pierre Laval himself courageously decided to rally to the army of liberation. Hardly had the Allies entered Vichy, after a bloody struggle, when they assisted at the reassuring spectacle of a cordial interview between General Teddy Wellcome, commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Saxon forces, and M. Pierre Laval, chief of the French government. The eminent statesman had no trouble in giving proof of his good faith and his good-will. He made much of the fact that he had always been a sincere and loyal friend of the United States, that his son-in-law was more than half-American, that his daughter José had fond memories of the White House, and that in addition he had always wished for the victory of the United Nations and had foreseen the annihilation of Germany. "And if I have seemed to say or think the contrary," he added delicately, "believe me, dear friends and allies, it was for the butter, as we say in my country."

Needless to say, General Teddy Wellcome was moved and charmed by this dignified and generous attitude. He assured Pierre Laval of his fullest esteem and asserted that he was ready to collaborate with him. Moreover, he said, since the Allies had no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of France, no one would be better qualified than M. Laval himself to rehabilitate French politics, to give it a resolute democratic direction, and to put the entire country at the service of the sacred cause of liberation of oppressed peoples.

Thereupon Pierre Laval formed his famous Cabinet, for the prosecution of the "holy war for liberty." It was thus composed:

Présidence du Conseil et Intérieur	Pierre Laval
Défense Nationale	Général Bridoux
Marine et Tunisie	Admiral Esteva
Affaires Etrangères	Vicomte de Brinon
Finances et Pots de Vin	Jacques Doriot
Colonies et Affaires celtiques	Général Noguès
Politique et Délation	Joseph Darnand
Instruction Publique	Marcel Déat
Moralité Publique	Alfred Mallet
P. T. T. et Illustration	J. de Lesdain
Famille et Cinéma	Jean Luchaire
Presse et Propagande	Georges Anquetil

(The President of the Council and Minister of the Interior reserved for himself personally the Portfolio of Treason; he is assisted in this heavy task by a sub-secretary of state, M. François Pietri.)

Such was the political situation, as clear and reassuring as could be wished, when there took place the famous conference of Touquet which was to astonish the world. It has been so often described that I limit myself to a brief summary of its remarkable results. About President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill were grouped the principal British and American military chiefs. The high point of the conversations, which were held against the celebrated background of the celebrated "plage du Nord," was the meeting of Generals Giraud, de Gaulle, and de la Laurencie. Everyone has seen the photograph which has preserved for posterity the triple handshake of the three great soldiers. After laborious negotiations each of these generals put his signature to a document of which this is the exact text: "Generals Giraud, de Gaulle, and de la Laurencie are perfectly in accord on the fact that they are not at all in accord."

Thanks to this virile manifestation of the fighting spirit of the French and thanks also to the confident collaboration of the Anglo-Saxon governments and of the brilliant team organized by Pierre Laval, the people of the United States and of the British Empire can be assured that final victory is in sight, to the great satisfaction of the French nation, which is perfectly aware of the sacrifices it might otherwise have had to make to assure the triumph of Justice, Civilization, and Democracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HIMMLER WINS AGAIN

For a long time Himmler has demanded an aviation section for his S. S. guards. Göring refused. At the first evidence of increasing dissatisfaction following the reverses in the east, Himmler renewed his demand, asking Hitler to support it. This time Göring yielded. The question is settled. Should the German people rise, they will be bombed from the air as if they were living in London, Coventry, or Kharkov.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE German word *Unruhe* means uneasiness, restlessness, anxiety. One can imagine the dismal jokes that are being coupled with the name of General Walter von Unruh. Certainly Herr von Unruh represents the greatest anxiety that the average German suffers today, for he is chief executive of the colossal—and swiftly developing—project that goes under the name of total mobilization. In that capacity he must—before March 15—comb several million hitherto indispensable persons out of war industries and pack them off to the army, and at the same time comb the last civilians out of their peace-time occupations and put them in war jobs.

The two decrees of January 27 and February 4 which ordered this "greatest mobilization in the history of the world" laid down only a few general principles. They directed, for example, that all firms and branches, stores, workshops, restaurants, and so on "not vital for the war effort or for the necessary minimum of civilian supplies" should be closed immediately. And they provided that all men between sixteen and sixty-five years of age and all women between seventeen and forty-five not already engaged in war work should be drafted at once for the war economy. But these decrees furnished only the framework and included no practical directions for carrying it to completion. Since then orders, regulations, and blitz measures have been issued in rapid succession.

The first specific order provided that in Berlin alone 50,000 retail shops of every kind, size, and quality, and 50,000 handicraft shops were to be closed. It is reported that already on a street like the famous Kurfürstendamm hardly a shop is open. Of the 12,000 spirits and brandy distilleries still operating in Germany, only 755 will be permitted to continue. A third of the extant newspapers are to be scrapped; the first one to cease publication is the well-known *B. Z. am Mittag*. Waiters are to be transferred to war industries in a body and their places filled by women; other traditional hotel and restaurant jobs, such as newspaper and tobacco stands, are to be eliminated entirely. Of more far-reaching significance is an announcement made by Minister of Justice Thierack in a conference on February 10. In reporting it the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* said that the minister had made public a scheme for "greatly reducing the number of judges." "At present," it continued, "there are about 14,000 judges, but according to Thierack, 4,000 or at most 5,000 are enough. About 10,000 therefore will have to disappear." To make up for the disappearance of two-thirds of the judges into the insatiable maw of the war's man-power demands, the remaining third will have, as the paper expressed it, "increased authority." Expressed in another way, court procedure will be still more summary than it has been. Even more serious in the long run may be the consequences of the announced reduction of the school week to eighteen hours—so that about half of the teachers still employed can be transferred to war jobs and also so that greater use can be made of the pupils as helpers, especially on farms.

The difficulties of such a colossal undertaking seem enormous. First, there are the damages to be paid. The small tradesmen and handworkers whose shops are destroyed must be left some hope—it is slight enough—of being able to make a new start after the war. They are therefore allowed damages—it looks as if a considerable bureaucracy would be needed simply to evaluate their claims. Moreover, the state is so hungry for goods that it cannot permit the proprietors to dispose of their stock and fixtures as they like. Everything must be turned over to the government—materials, goods, machines, tools, even office equipment, including furniture, telephones, and lamps. To inventory these millions of heterogeneous items and to utilize them or turn them into cash will keep another regiment of clerks busy.

Then the problem arises, how usable will these left-overs be in war production, for which they are completely unfitted by training and habit? The factory managers, who are losing masses of strong and practiced workers and receiving such unsatisfactory substitutes, seem extremely pessimistic. They must have uttered many protestations and warnings, for a joint proclamation issued on February 23 by Minister of Munitions Speer and Labor Czar Sauckel holds the managers responsible for results. It is their job to transform the "reserves" assigned to them into capable workmen by setting up schools and giving the necessary instruction in their plants—and to do it quickly.

The first signs are appearing of how great the "enthusiasm of the people" for the "total mobilization" really is. There have been threats against shirkers and persons making false declarations. The *Völkische Beobachter* of February 11 attacked women in general because so many of them—some with the help of forged doctors' certificates—are trying to get into office positions instead of essential work.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

File and Remember

Volunteers for Fascism

THE recruiting of volunteers [from the occupied countries] for the Russian campaign has been disappointing, but "fascism" points out that the importance of this enterprise must not be measured by the size of the volunteer army. After Jena Napoleon fixed the limit of the Prussian army at 42,000. The Prussians defeated his intention by keeping the army to that figure but passing men through the ranks so that Prussia had a small army but a large number of trained men. Something like that has been done with the volunteers for the Russian war. Numbers of them are continually being brought back from the front and replaced by new men. The Dutch Nazis and the Belgian Fascists boast of the training their followers are thus receiving. Degrelle said that his followers had learned in Russia to kill quickly and well. These forces will not be strong enough to withstand the popular feeling of the occupied countries when liberation comes, but they will make the struggle more bitter. — Manchester *Guardian*.

A German Majority

Not so long ago the German press boasted that for every four Germans working at home, there was one foreigner. Now the Nazis are finding that there are disadvantages in employing millions of foreigners. Sauckel, Hitler's special commissioner for labor mobilization, says: "We have a situation in which at many factories representatives of as many as twelve alien nationalities are employed. We must now take measures to see that Germans constitute a majority in every factory."—Soviet War News.

Norway on Darlan

The Norwegians, like the peoples of other occupied countries today, hope that their liberation will not be too long postponed. But—and it is important that we should understand this—the Norwegians have taken the political tragicomedy of North Africa to heart. "The Darlan incident," a leading article in the *Norsk Tidend* said, "also has its significance for Norway and the other countries. Political and military aims must go hand in hand, otherwise we shall find ourselves on a slippery slope. Our aim, a free and democratic Norway, can never be achieved by a fascist compromise. No good Norwegian has ever had any doubts about this.—The *New Statesman and Nation* (London).

The Finnish Quislings

Ryti and Mannerheim are as guilty of blood and of the massacre of their people in the interests of a little coterie dependent upon Hitler as are any quislings in Europe. It is amazing that there should be found British and American newspapers which discuss these people coolly as though they were the "victims of unfortunate circumstances." They are no more the victims of circumstance than Pierre Laval.—*Daily Worker* (London).

Program for Spain

Franco is making things worse by strengthening Morocco, which threatens our position in French North Africa. Our campaign goes slowly there partly because so many of our men have to watch the Spanish divisions, which are commanded by Spain's best general, Yaguë.

So what is to be done? Three things. Replace Sir Samuel Hoare. Tell the Spanish people that they will be in the war in the spring unless the Blue Division and half Yaguë's troops come home. And tell them that shiploads of food will enter any Spanish port that declares for neutrality and peace, if Franco insists on going on with war.

There are millions of Spaniards ready to be on our side, ready to defend their dwindling chance of peace. They will do the job for us—if we let them.—The *Tribune* (London).

War in the Air?

There is uneasiness on both sides of the Atlantic. Some Americans allege that by supplying aircraft under lend-lease they are giving the key to Britain; at least as many Englishmen allege that by handing over Empire routes to United States lines they are selling their birthright. Few opinions on the subject are so riddled with nonsense as those expressed in Mrs. Clare Luce's recent plea for "sovereignty of the skies." Fantastically, she speaks of the squeezing out of American shipping by the "heavily subsidized" lines of other "low labor-scale" countries, and voices the fear that the same may happen in the air. It is high time that the British and American governments ended this sordid wrangling by stating exactly what is happening and making plain their future policy. They have to choose between "sovereignty of the skies" and "freedom of the air"; and there is no doubt which choice will best serve both world peace and the efficiency and cheapness of world transport. In this discussion, British and American imperialism look equally ugly.—The *Economist* (London).

Shameless Cynicism

"The Atlantic Charter is a shameless piece of cynicism. If it were followed, all peoples would have to give up their sovereign rights for the sake of the United States, England, the Soviet Union, and Chungking, and they all would suffer the fate of Cuba and Puerto Rico."—SPANISH COUNCILOR ANTONIO TOVAR in *Pueblo* (Madrid).

Social Revolution or Reform

No proposition of social reform in modern history has been seized so eagerly or with so much determination by the people as a whole as the Beveridge Report. What fools the Conservative organizers must be not to realize that here was a providential opportunity to steal the thunder of the progressives and place upon the statute books the social enactment of a lifetime. "If you do not give the people social reform," said Mr. Quintin Hogg, one of the younger and better-educated Conservatives, in an admirable speech, "the people will give you social revolution."— A. J. CUMMINGS in the *News Chronicle* (London).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

JOHN DOS PASSOS presents in his new novel, "Number One" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50), a portrait of a Southern demagogue. The model is obviously Huey Long, though the story is a parallel of Long's career, not a literal record. Now Huey Long in the flesh is still sufficiently vivid in the reader's mind to be a constant and authoritative check on the success of any attempt to transfix him in print. Yet Dos Passos has so transfixed him, without shrinkage either of dimension or of body heat.

Mr. Dos Passos has done live historical figures before with great success—the best things in "U. S. A." as far as I am concerned are the short biographies. Here, however, he not only presents such a figure at full length; he does it in fictional terms. In his short biographies of real personalities he could make his readers function as collaborators by tapping the keys of known fact; his skill lay in selecting the keys that would release the particular emotion and idea he wished to use. In the present case he has chosen the indirect and far more difficult method of projecting a fictional character in the image of a known historical figure—which makes of the reader a judge rather than a collaborator. And he has succeeded, for Chuck Crawford is not only a public character in his own right, with his own story, but wins complete acceptance from the reader as the prototype not only of Huey Long but of the whole spate of demagogues which the backward areas of the South will continue to throw up as long as their dismal swamps of poverty and ignorance remain undrained.

A great deal of observation, research, and understanding has gone into Dos Passos's study of a demagogue. He understands, for instance, that it is the element of sincerity in such people which makes them successful—and dangerous. He never loses sight of the fact that the Chuck Crawfords really believe that they are friends and defenders of the people—a belief which confuses both the Crawfords and the people. And he has shown with great skill the shuttling process by which Chuck Crawford, the ignorant, stupid, yet shrewd messiah, gains power by attacking the "interests" (while promising to make "Every Man a Millionaire"), exploits and is exploited by them, and finally becomes their servant as well as a parasite they must support because of his popular following.

But Chuck Crawford remains throughout a public rather than a private character; and since Dos Passos has chosen such a subject, the question must arise as to whether the public significance of Chuck Crawford, past and future, makes him worth the serious novelist's trouble. In Huey Long's time there was a tide in American affairs which might have led a Southern demagogue on to victory over us all—Long's assassination was a stroke of good luck. Today war and organization for war have set new tides in motion which will throw up quite different and even more sinister, and knowledgeable, candidates; and while the primitive Southern demagogue will continue to rise and flourish, he now seems dated as the possible leader of a sophisticated American fascism. In that context Chuck Crawford becomes a reminiscence rather than a prophecy and seems not quite worth a full-length portrait.

That is the danger the novelist runs, of course, when he selects a public character as a major subject. The private character is another matter, if only because we are all private characters, forever interested in ourselves.

There are, of course, private characters in "Number One"—and I am not sure that Mr. Dos Passos does not consider one of them his principal. As a foil (and secretary) to Chuck Crawford, he gives us another of his dismal drinking young men—Tyler Spotswood, weaker brother of the Glenn Spotswood of "The Adventures of a Young Man"—a thwarted idealist who is so obviously weak-willed that one can't help feeling he is an idealist because he is thwarted, not thwarted because he is an idealist. There is a difference. Dos Passos almost broke the pattern in "The Adventures of a Young Man." Glenn Spotswood was defeated in the end, but at least he put up a fight—which is after all far more true to life and a great deal more interesting. The Tyler of the present book is down for the count when the book opens; he never rises and one soon becomes bored by his groans. At the end, when he is left holding the bag for Chuck Crawford, he faces the choice of going to prison or exposing Chuck, with whose wife he is, again feebly, in love; but by that time anything he may or may not do seems quite without significance. (Sue Ann, by the way, like most of Dos Passos's women, is more engaging than his men.)

Here again Dos Passos refuses, or is unable, to endow his fictional characters with the resilience and will power which characterize the real figures of his biographies, including Chuck Crawford—not to mention the general run of the human race. In real life, Mr. Dos Passos notwithstanding, even intellectual under-dogs like Tyler Spotswood, defeated or not, possess those qualities—which are the requisites for staying alive. To deny them to Tyler Spotswood in his argument with life, and with Chuck Crawford, is to invite, from this reviewer at least, that old, fatal newspaper verdict "No story."

MARGARET MARSHALL

To a Camofleur

a tree is not a tree it is a man
granite rocks have thirty creeping toes
and canvas sides where once the highway ran
the scattered flock nuzzles the winter snows

mobility lies leaden in the grave
inured to torpor there will be those to see
what doom of jeopardy consumes a brave
anachronistic visibility

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

folded in darkness from your mind erase
the dream you dreamed through all the ancient wars
a man erect and walking in a space
confronting god and stars

LYNN RIGGS

Under and After Mussolini

ITALY FROM WITHIN. By Richard G. Massock. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THE author of this book was correspondent of the Associated Press in Rome from the fall of 1938 to the end of 1941. His task was "finding out as best as he could what was going on." But the Stefani Agency (the Italian counterpart of Havas and Reuter) gave out only government "pap." The dailies were mere instruments in an orchestra conducted by the Ministry of Propaganda. The radio, the newsreels, the books and magazines, the news photos—everything was censored. The hotel where Mr. Massock first established his residence was staffed entirely by informers. When he went to live in an apartment, the doorman was a spy and reported everyone who went to call on him. The police kept a dossier on each correspondent and his family. The telephone was tapped. Under such conditions, how could a newspaperman find out what was going on? Even if he did, he was not allowed to send out his findings. His telephone calls were intercepted and transcribed. The radio company automatically sent every dispatch to the ministry before transmitting it. Words were scrutinized, one by one, and their author held accountable for them. If he displeased the masters, he was expelled.

Mr. Massock, while imparting to us such pleasant information, protests that he never deserved expulsion. His record was "clean." He was just a newspaperman "without seditious thoughts or political animosity." He "avoided known anti-Fascists." He "never met any member of the underground, never tried to obtain news in a clandestine manner." He "evaded political discussion in his social contacts." He was only interested in obtaining news that he could transmit "through the nominal channels of information."

"We were sick," he writes, "that we had to withhold so much of the truth. Yet we knew the editors and readers wanted a man on the spot." Wait a moment! No doubt the editors wanted to make money by feeding their public with "good news," whether true or not, and only men on the spot could produce such news. But the public was living under the delusion that a man on the spot would give them the truth. Yet for twenty years, though sick of their dirty job, the men on the spot deceived their public. What was forcing them to do so? Why were they so fond of keeping their records clean? Why didn't they leave Rome as soon as they realized that a newspaperman could not honestly carry on his professional work there? Why didn't their agencies and publishers inform their readers that correct information could not be got from totalitarian countries and that therefore they refused to keep correspondents in those countries?

Here is a problem which should be squarely faced by the "gentlemen of the press" who have consecrated a shrine to the freedom of the press, hail the press as the unstained source of truth, and each year hold conventions where they solemnly vindicate the freedom of the press. Freedom of the press or freedom for the "gentlemen of the press" to fool the people for twenty years?

The chapters Mr. Massock dedicates to the period of non-belligerency from September, 1939, to June, 1940, to the disastrous invasion of Greece, and to the economic and moral conditions of the country are among the best things on Italy that the present reviewer has read of late. Mr. Massock states that "the Italian people hold Mussolini personally responsible for Italy's tragedy. They hate him." "The supporters of Fascism form a small minority of the population." "The majority of Italians would like a restoration of parliamentary self-government, as in the democracies, as the only system capable of giving them decent leadership and economic well-being." But "an Italian revolution now, with all Europe under Nazi domination, direct or indirect, would fail, so strong are the odds against it. And such premature revolt might be catastrophic." However, "with the tide of anti-Fascism rising as it has risen, it is not inconceivable that the public, given the circumstances, could override the militia." "The primary question is how long will the Italians have to wait for the defeat of the German army by those of the United Nations." One hundred per cent right. Could anything else be said for the other occupied countries and, let us hope, for Germany itself?

Mr. Massock notices that "the anti-Fascist movement in Italy lacks leadership, organs of opinion, the means to get together in large numbers. There is no center of agitation, no parliament, no free institutions." Could it be otherwise? If Italy did not lack those paraphernalia, it would be a democratic and not a totalitarian country. It must reconquer them through "blood, sweat, and tears."

During more than three years among Italians in Italy, Mr. Massock never heard mentioned the name of a single émigré who would be a "likely deliverer of the people from Fascism." Quite natural. The name even of Toscanini has been suppressed in the Italian press. Thus a youth who is twenty-two now and was ten in 1930 does not know that a Toscanini ever existed in this world. One can guess what has happened in the case of all the other émigrés who are not surrounded by such a halo of glory as Toscanini. Therefore Mr. Massock is completely correct when he holds that "the liberation and future system of government of the Italian people is primarily the business of the Italians in Italy"; "the Italians seemed to be searching for new leaders among those who had stayed in Italy." Future leaders will arise from among those who are on the spot. Mr. Massock, however, would be at least half wrong if from this fact he drew the inference that there will be nothing for the émigrés to do when they return to Italy. Men and women who were in their twenties when political emigration began to curse Italy, are now in their fifties, that is, still young in spirit. They have not forgotten and will welcome those of their old friends who come back home.

"The pre-Fascist parties have been buried so profoundly that not even their ghosts were abroad in the land." Here again Mr. Massock is entirely right. Names of political parties will most likely still be the old ones. But the mentality of the generation in their thirties and forties is no longer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that of the old parties. They want new wine even under old labels. No force on earth will revive the pre-Fascist formations.

Mr. Massock is also 100 per cent right when he reports that at the time he left Rome "the Crown was in contempt among many Italians." The King had fallen so low that he visited the birthplace of Mussolini and laid wreaths on the tombs of the Duce's parents. The Crown Prince "has little personality" (to say the least). Last spring he concluded a manifesto to the troops under his command with these words: "Hail to the King! Hail to the Duce!" The Queen has taken such pains to identify herself with the German alliance that when she received the Japanese ambassador she insisted on his speaking German, though he knew very little German. Under such circumstances, Mr. Massock should have taken less seriously that "anti-Fascist" who told him that "the monarchy is the chief bulwark of Italy after Fascism."

His anti-Fascist acquaintance told Mr. Massock that the army might present the King with a military dictator who would end the reign of Fascism and assume the policing power. Mr. Massock might have asked him how that same army, or rather those same military chiefs who had brought to power and supported and exploited Mussolini for twenty years, might think of putting an end to the reign of Fascism. They would merely substitute Fascism without Mussolini for Fascism with Mussolini. And how could the United Nations disarm Italy if the army were not disbanded and as a consequence its chiefs were not deprived of all material force and moral prestige? Anyhow Mr. Massock might prove a good prophet, if President Roosevelt agreed with Mr. Churchill, to the effect that this war would lead to the most dastardly deception in history, not only for Italy but for the whole of Europe and America itself.

"All the country seems to ask is a fair deal, peace, and the opportunity for its sons to work at home and abroad." "Americans should first prepare for an invasion by making the Italians believe we are going into the Italian Peninsula to help them and to free them from Fascism." Will the Americans give Italy a fair deal? Yes, if they remain true to the tradition of Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson. No, if they adopt the ideals of Winston Churchill, Myron Taylor, and Monsignor Cicognani.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

War Primer for Civilians

THE STORY OF WEAPONS AND TACTICS FROM TROY TO STALINGRAD. By Tom Wintringham. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.25.

TOM WINTRINGHAM is a practical soldier; he served in France in World War I, commanded the British International Brigade near Madrid in 1937, and, three years later, was largely responsible for the development of a British Home Guard to a strength of over 1,000,000 men, a force so formidable that it may well have influenced Hitler's decision not to invade England. Out of this long experience has come his belief in the importance of the theory of war, his conviction, indeed, that in order for democracies to win, not only the military but the people as well should understand warfare; he stresses the importance of studying the history of war to get a tight grip on this understanding. The subject is huge, but weapons lie at its core. Mr. Wintringham concerns himself in this excellent and suggestive book with an analysis of weapons, their use by land armies, and the changes that have occurred in them and in their tactical employment.

A striking example of this continual change is the Battle of Hastings, in which William of Normandy, with armored cavalry, defeated the more lightly equipped English infantry. William's men were superior to King Harold's in three fundamental respects—mobility, hitting power, and protection. Victory, as a matter of course, followed this concentration of controlling factors. Beginning with the Greek triumph over the Persians at Plataea in 479 B. C., tendencies are traced in which the ebb and flow of emphasis on these three primary elements of war shape themselves into a pattern of alternating "armored" and "unarmored" periods. One of the recurring characteristics of an armored period, such as we are in now—it began with the tank at Cambrai in 1917—is that a kind of coordinated complexity, in which small units, often of an auxiliary nature, operate under commanders exercising great initiative, succeeds a more simply integrated but also more unwieldy organization. A characteristic common to both types of period lies in the surprise nature of changes when they first appear and their consequent effect on the opponent. War is only in part a science; it has few constants, and no completely accurate projection of its future shape is ever possible.

In his chapter on early weapons and tactics the author describes the bows and spears of the Trojans and their scythe-bearing chariots; the armor of the Hoplites, the Greek heavy infantry; the ballistae and catapults of Dionysius, Tyrant of Syracuse; the phalanx invented by the Spartan Epaminondas; the great twenty-four-foot Macedonian sarissa, or pike, used in mass by King Philip; Alexander's inspired division and subdivision of his father's too heavy formations into highly maneuverable units supported by light auxiliary forces; Alexander's defeat of Darius the Persian and his elephants at Arbela; the organization and employment of the Roman legions, how they were humbled by Hannibal at Cannae and how, later, having become free men, they beat the Carthaginians. In the fourth century the first armored period, the period of the victorious Romans, came to an end.

The second unarmored period followed; these were the great days of light cavalry. The Goths, well mounted and armed with lances, the Germans with their heavy franciscae, or battle-axes, took full advantage of the decay of Rome and Roman freedom. Mobile archers assisted, and had already come into their own under the Mongol Genghis Khan.

With Charlemagne's victory at Pavia in 774 the pendulum again swung toward armor, but it was to change direction because of the archer, at Hastings still an auxiliary to the cavalry shock-trooper and only attaining his full flower under the Plantagenets. Crécy, in 1346, marked the end of this second period.

The next era was that of gunpowder; war had become an affair of longer and longer range as guns became more and more efficient. As early as the fifteenth century artillery was a weapon to be reckoned with. Mohammed II, conqueror of Constantinople, had bombards thirty inches in caliber that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fired stone shot weighing 1,800 pounds. Fortified castles were no longer impregnable; firearms accomplished the end of the feudal system. Napoleon became the master of artillery; Wellington, to counter him, had to devise new ways of utilizing cover. The bayonet, even in 1870, was less useful as weapon than as myth. The machine-gun, brainchild of Hiram Maxim and wet-nursed by Basil Zaharoff, flourished and grew great.

But armor, coupled with mobility, to be sure, was destined to return. Tanks showed the way, and with supporting planes they are today dominant factors in that violent infiltration which, large-scale, spells "irruption," the deep break-through against which even strong "web defenses" have sometimes proved ineffective.

The author has observed, however, that mechanized units and tanks are particularly vulnerable to the close infighting typical of guerrilla warfare; he believes, further, that the present blitzkrieg pattern is already becoming obsolete and will be supplanted by what he calls the People's War, fought by an armed population linked to an offensive striking force. This revolution in warfare, according to his thesis, will take the form of a popular anti-fascist worldwide revolution. But if it is to succeed, its leaders must ever be ready to make changes in techniques, tactics, and strategy. Change is the single immutable law of war, and, because no book could bring out this point more clearly, none could be more useful.

ROBERT K. HAAS

English Pageant

ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY: A SURVEY OF SIX CENTURIES, CHAUCER TO QUEEN VICTORIA. By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans, Green and Company. $4.50.

THERE was a time when, in the hands of the Manners and Morals school, social history was almost exclusively concerned with Society with a capital S. The life of the "lower orders" was treated as uninteresting and irrelevant except in so far as it provided a background, sometimes quaint, sometimes degraded, for the doings of their "betters." Then, under the influence of Marx, the pendulum swung violently in the other direction, and social historians concentrated on the poor and downtrodden. The nineteenth-century conceptions of the class struggle and economic man were projected backward through the ages by writers who started with a thesis and picked over the ever-expanding shelves of recorded fact for material to clothe it.

In this new social history of England, from its emergence as a distinctive nation to the onset of the present century, G. M. Trevelyan, the doyen of British historians, does not attempt to prove any all-embracing theory. Social history, as he sees it, is quite distinct from both political and economic history, but it is the "required link" between them without which the one is "unintelligible" and the other "barren." "It has also," he adds in his introduction, "its own positive value and peculiar concern"—the reconstruction of the daily life of the past. Its real appeal, Mr. Trevelyan believes, is to the imagination, and thus the impelling motive of historical study is poetic. "Its poetry consists in its being true." There

The Mark Twain of Yiddish Literature

THE WORLD OF
SHOLOM ALEICHEM

By Maurice Samuel

"Sholom Aleichem" is a magic word in Yiddish literature. What Dickens did for England, what Balzac did for France, and what Twain did for America, Sholom Aleichem did for the Jews of Eastern Europe.

The author recounts the adventures of the chief characters in the works of Sholom Aleichem, and recreates the folklore, outlook and memories of the villages of the famous Pale Settlement. A remarkable revelation of a great man. $3.00

ALFRED · A · KNOPF
501 MADISON AVENUE, N. Y.

PEYROUTON: INCIDENT OR PRECEDENT?

Are We Losing the Peace in North Africa?

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The man the State Department didn't want in North Africa. Recently resigned as Deputy Director, Office of War Information.

MAX LERNER JOHANNES STEEL
Chairman: REINHOLD NIEBUHR

TOWN HALL
123 West 43rd Street, New York City
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31, 8:30 P.M.

TICKETS:
Reserved, $1.00 and $.75 — Unreserved, $.50

Available at the Town Hall Box Office or the U. D. A. Office, 9 East 46th Street

Limited Seating Capacity - - -
- - - Write or telephone immediately. (PLaza 8-0703)

Auspices:
Union for Democratic Action Educational Fund, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we find the synthesis of the scientific and the literary view of history.

In these terms this book is a brilliant success. It does give us a rich pageant of English life in many of its aspects. We see people of all classes at work and at play, in their economic relations with each other, at home, at church, and in school. We see, too, a developing culture expressing the general conditions of each age in changing forms of literature, art, and thought. But no one historian can give us a complete picture, and Mr. Trevelyan's methods have their limitations. For one thing his over-reliance on literary material inevitably makes for disproportionate attention to the lives of the middle and upper classes, for whom and about whom the mass of literature was written until recent years. We can be grateful, however, for the evidence which this book provides regarding the comparative fluidity of the English ruling class—a factor unduly neglected by some recent historians. It has always been an aristocracy which believed in maintenance of membership rather than the closed shop, and it never carried snobbishness to the point of excluding a steady infusion of new blood from below. Even "the old school tie" is a fairly new symbol. In Elizabethan times, Mr. Trevelyan points out, boys of all classes learned Latin side by side in the grammar schools, and it was only in the middle of the eighteenth century that segregated education for the upper classes became the general rule. Moreover, up to that time, it was common practice for the landed gentry to apprentice their younger sons to city merchants and craftsmen, thus providing a link between the upper and middle classes which was lacking in most Continental countries. Perhaps this avoidance of biological and intellectual inbreeding is one of the reasons why the English ruling class has been so hard to shake. For it has always retained a disconcerting amount of energy, and if not exactly hospitable to new ideas, it has long possessed an instinct for calculating nicely the irreducible minimum of social and political reforms which had to be conceded in order to enable it to hold its privileges.

In his approach to the past Mr. Trevelyan is sometimes hampered by a certain ambivalence. By training and family tradition he is a nineteenth-century liberal, but the belief in progress, which is his birthright, is in conflict with his nostalgia for the eighteenth century, about which he has written so much and so brilliantly. Of the years between 1740 and 1780 he says: "The gods mercifully gave mankind this little moment of peace between the religious fanaticisms of the past and the fanaticisms of class and race that were speedily to arise and dominate time to come." It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the picture he paints of this era is inspired by Joshua Reynolds rather than by Hogarth, by Horace Walpole rather than by Fielding. And his enthusiasm sometimes betrays him into making statements as naive as they are charming. For instance, writing about the development of cricket as a game played by all classes together, he concludes: "If the French noblesse had been capable of playing cricket with their peasants, their châteaux would never have been burnt."

Throughout this book Mr. Trevelyan rightly emphasizes the social aspects of religion, and he has many original and penetrating comments to make on this subject. In the early years of the nineteenth century, he points out, "England was less 'class conscious' than 'church and chapel conscious.'" Consequently religious dissent formed a strong bond between the growing army of industrial workers and the new capitalists, both of whom resented the pretensions and privileges of the Church of England, just at the moment when divergence of economic interests was tending to pull them apart. It was only gradually that the religious division paralleled the class division, as the rising industrialists bought and married their way into the ranks of the upper classes and adopted their mode of thought, including Episcopalianism. Then the dissenting chapels became the nurseries of the trade unions—a development which has had a profound influence on the whole ideology of the British labor movement.

But if religious controversy in England stimulated political growth, it proved, as Mr. Trevelyan shows, a bar to educational progress. Toleration had been painfully achieved in Britain, and it is only in this century that something like real tolerance has developed. During a large part of the Victorian era politicians shied away from the provision of state education, fearing to evoke a denominational battle over the question of religious teaching. The result was a lag in this field in Britain compared to other Western nations, which proved a sore handicap. Standards of education, in fact, are still dangerously low for an industrial community, and it is not surprising that this matter is prominent on the post-war agenda.

Summing up this book, one can say that it provides stimulating and fascinating reading as well as a useful corrective for an overdose of materialist interpretation. But an antidote taken by itself may have unfavorable reactions, and in order to achieve a really balanced ration it should be read in conjunction with such a book as Cole and Postgate's "History of the British Common People." KEITH HUTCHISON

Fiction in Review

EXCEPT for members of the Communist Party or a few sentimentalists who think that the fine victories of the Russian army justify all the sins of Stalinism, and of course Martin Dies, it is hard to know who can take seriously Ruth McKenney's long and serious new novel, "Jake Home" (Harcourt, Brace, $3). As history—and it is in large part an account of the labor movement in America between the last war and 1932—it is written from the Communist Party-pris and therefore suitably tailored to fit the wavy line; as much by what it leaves unsaid as by what it says, it would try to create the impression that the history of labor in this period is identified with the history of the Communist Party, indeed that unionism and communism are always one and the same thing. As frank fiction, on the other hand, Miss McKenney's story of the small mining-town boy who comes to the big city and makes good as a leader of the workers is basically such pure fourteen-carat goldwyn that you need only soft-pedal the cops and occasionally turn the camera on a kindly capitalist or two—the demi-heroine's parents would serve the purpose nicely—in order to wind up with one of those movies in which idealism triumphs over low sexual-commercial temptation and Hollywood saves its soul.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A large section of the book is concerned with the Sacco-Vanzetti case: Jake Home, Miss McKenney's six-foot-three of red-headed hero, organizes Sacco-Vanzetti workers' defense committees over the country. Happily in 1943 the air on the literary front has been at least temporarily cleared of the need to rehash the old left-political issues; so if you will, you can skip Miss McKenney's version of the factional feuds in the case and concentrate on the cultural implications of her narrative. Perhaps even before Jake goes on his tour you will have noticed the delicate distinction between the way he addresses his upper-class associates and his fellow-proletarians —Jake's self-taught English which is so elegantly equal to the Boston lady who buys him his first lobster thermidor but which comes up with the good old proletarian "ain't" the moment he is back with the workers. Then the trip itself is fabulously successful, largely because of the Vanzetti letters which Jake carries with him. Of course, by the time he has read these fine documents to half a dozen public meetings, using Vanzetti's words to play on the emotions of his audience like Aimee Semple MacPherson at a revival meeting, now murmuring them in a hoarse whisper, now blasting them to the heavens, holding up one finger for the accompanying orchestra to play "the dead march" (*sic*) soft and now two fingers for the orchestra to come up loud, the "Marseillaise" and the "International" and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" finally mixing hysterically with the sobs of the women and the shouts of the men—by that time, I submit, the serene soul of a martyred fish-peddler may be turning in its grave, but atta-boy, says Miss McKenney, the workers of the world are behind Jake Home!

It used to be said that revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice cannot be separated; surely, in the same way, revolutionary culture and revolutionary politics go hand in hand through Miss McKenney's novel. Here, for instance, space being short, are a few of her cultural touchstones jotted down at random; draw your own political conclusions.

1. At the age of ten Jake Home knows "Hamlet" by heart; that's all right because "Shakespeare had to keep the boys in the pit in mind." At twenty-one he discovers Beethoven, for the good, and Rachmaninoff and Debussy, for the bad. At twenty-six he knows of James Joyce, "poet of imperialism," that "this guy is covering up a pretty cheesy mind with a lot of style."

2. Sex for a worker is home, a wife, a son, and curtains, preferably ruffled curtains sewn by the wife's own hands after a jolly day at the revolutionary stencil.

3. Nothing, in the last analysis, is so really bad as an intellectual. For author McKenney, as for the author of "To Have and to Have Not" (remember?), the final insult is to call someone a WRITER.

4. Scratch a WRITER and you will find a Freudian. When Kate, the second of the two evil (female) geniuses in Jake's life, takes to drink instead of having either a baby *or* curtains, Jake is ashamed of her until one of the comrades gives him a good talking-to. "You have a positively medieval mind on this subject, Jake," says the comrade. " 'Freud!' Jake snarled. 'A bunch of intellectuals picking over their elegant libidos!' " The comrade answers: "Do you know no one, no one at all, who uses the works of Karl Marx to confuse, or even to amuse? I am not saying that Freud himself did not evolve a completely bourgeois theory. Of course he did; but he also suggested lines of inquiry to others which have opened a new world."

It appears, in short, that the proletarian novel, which seemed literary glory a short decade ago, trails into this decade clouds that are musty and bedraggled, like scenery at the opera.

A March Book of the Month Club selection is "Colonel Effingham's Raid" by Berry Fleming (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.50). Definitely on the side of the angels, this new novel by the author of "Siesta" is too coy a handling of an important subject for my taste. It is the story of an aging army colonel who is retired to his home town in Georgia but who, instead of growing roses like a proper gentleman, turns

AMUSEMENTS

N. Y.'s 2 BIG HITS

"Vivid and entertaining theater."—Joseph Wood Krutch, The Nation.

THE PLAYWRIGHTS' COMPANY & ROWLAND STEBBINS present

THE PATRIOTS

by SIDNEY KINGSLEY

NATIONAL, W. 41st St. PE 6-8220. Evgs. 8:40, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2.40

★ ★ ★ ★

"The most effective and the most satisfactory play about the war yet to reach our stage." —Joseph Wood Krutch, Nation.

The Playwrights' Company presents

THE EVE OF ST. MARK

A New Play by MAXWELL ANDERSON

CORT, West 48th Street. BR 9-0046. Evgs. 8:40, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE NATION
55 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Nation subscribers should give us at least two weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please enter my subscription to your magazine

☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8 ☐ 3 Years $11

☐ Remittance is inclosed ☐ Bill me

Introductory Offer to New Subscribers ONLY:

☐ **13 Weeks $1**

Cash with order

Canada $1 a year extra
Foreign $1 a year extra
Pan American Union requires no extra postage

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

3-13-43

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his still militant energies against local political corruption. What Mr. Fleming is saying is that house-cleaning abroad is without meaning unless we also house-clean at home—an excellent thing to say—but a writer with such notable gifts of humor and style should also have the taste to offer his political sense without worrying so much about the chic of the packaging.

Theodore Pratt's "Mr. Winkle Goes to War" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2) is about an ordinary human being, an old gent of forty-four, domesticated, dyspeptic, and bespectacled, who, suddenly finding himself classified 1-a, has to accommodate himself to the idea that in the eyes of the army he is still young and kicking. Mr. Winkle's adventures through induction and training are reported with such a sure, light touch that even the last twenty pages of rather incredible heroics fail to spoil a pleasant and curiously heartening hour's reading.

DIANA TRILLING

Out of the Old South

ANOTHER SECRET DIARY OF WILLIAM BYRD OF WESTOVER. Edited by Maude H. Woodfin. Decoded by Marion Tinling. Richmond: The Dietz Press. $5.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON. By Ellen Hart Smith. Harvard University Press. $3.75.

THREE parts of a diary which William Byrd kept in shorthand have recently come to light. The earliest portion (1709-1712), which begins soon after Byrd, a thirty-five-year-old bridegroom, has returned from his prolonged schooling in London to take over the management of Westover, turned up in the Huntington Library in California and was published in 1941. The second section, in which Byrd, a middle-aged widower, is back in London paying florid court to the wealthy ladies among whom he seeks a second wife and making more direct overtures to those who, in accordance with the custom of his time, he describes quite frankly as mistresses and whores, belongs to the Virginia Historical Society and has not been published. The present volume is made up of two notebooks discovered at the University of North Carolina and includes the diary for the years 1739-1741 and copies of letters and "literary exercises" which Byrd wrote between 1696 and 1726, most of them during his two periods of residence in London.

This portion of the diary lacks the racy interest of the earlier parts. When it opens, Byrd has been back at Westover for thirteen years and is living in aging tranquillity with his even-tempered second wife. All the entries are brief, being for the most part concerned with his family and the management of his plantations; the majority of them end: "At night talked with my people, played piquet with my son, and prayed." Yet these simple homely notations read in connection with the expansive letters, "characters," and satires which Byrd composed during his younger rakish years in London give a peculiarly solid picture of the versatility of the eighteenth-century planters and of the complex relationship between the Southern colonies and England. William Byrd's education had to prepare him primarily for performing his civic duties in Virginia and for managing his 43,000 scattered acres, with their mills and stores and hundreds of "people" both white and black; it had also to fit him for living, during the time he spent at his London residence, the life of a sophisticated English gentleman, a life which in his day centered about the court, the theater, the coffee-house, and the spas.

Though Charles Carroll was only five years old when William Byrd died in 1744, their early lives were remarkably similar. Carroll was also sent abroad at the age of ten to acquire the training of a gentleman; and he returned to Maryland in 1765 to take over the management of Carrollton just as sixty years earlier Byrd had assumed that of Westover. But it was to a different America that young Carroll came back, for the Stamp Act had recently been made law, and colonial resentment, though few then realized it, was already making toward a belligerent break from England. Despite the fact that his religion disqualified him from voting, Carroll plunged so heartily into provincial politics that he was known as Maryland's First Citizen, as well as America's wealthiest young man, by the time war actually broke out. Though not yet an official delegate, the Continental Congress sent him early in 1776 to Montreal, along with Samuel Chase and Benjamin Franklin, to try to persuade Canada to join our side. This mission was, of course, foredoomed to failure, but Carroll acquitted himself so well that notwithstanding his Catholicism Maryland was able to send him as a duly elected delegate to the next session of the Congress.

He arrived in Philadelphia on July 18, in the nick of time to sign Charles Carroll of Carrollton to the parchment upon which the Declaration of Independence, voted upon favorably ten days before, had just been engrossed; and to be appointed to the Congressional Board of War. It was a fortunate appointment, for while serving on the board he was able to help prevent the greatest threat to the Revolutionary cause—the plot to deprive Washington of his command. When the war was done and distrust of Washington had turned to adulation, Charles Carroll was Maryland's first choice as United States Senator. Though "he shared with most of the patriots from Washington down" what Miss Smith describes as "the distressing tendency . . . to feel loyalty and duty to his state before he felt it to his country," he remained a Federalist; and when in 1800 Maryland went Republican he retired from politics a discouraged and embittered man, quite certain that "and so will terminate the Union, if Jefferson should continue President for eight years."

But the most remarkable thing about Charles Carroll of Carrollton was the fact that his life, which stretched back into the romantic bawdy days of the London coffee-houses, extended into what we can accept as really modern times. In 1828, four years before he died at ninety-five, he laid the cornerstone for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, an experience which he described as second in importance to signing the Declaration.

Miss Smith, who in her preface describes this as her first book, displays a pleasing adaptability to her subject; she turns easily from the great events in which Charles Carroll played such an admirable part to the intimate, sometimes petty details of his domestic life that make him come alive as a man.

GRACE ADAMS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN BRIEF

WING COMMANDER PADDY FINUCANE, R. A. F., D. S. O., D. F. C. A Memoir by James Reynolds. Edmond Byrne Hackett. $1.25.

This is a charming, if somewhat self-consciously Irish, tribute to Wing Commander Brendan Finucane, who was evidently as vivid and interesting a personality as he was a brave flier and born leader of men. The little book is beautifully and appropriately produced.

AN OUTLINE OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY. By J. F. Horrabin. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.

In little more than 150 pages and 46 maps the brilliant English geographer provides a geographical history of civilization from ancient Egypt down to the present World War, as an aid to world politics now and in the immediate future. He pulls no punches in dealing with the imperialism either of his own country or of the United States and does not hesitate to point a vigorous moral. Here is *democratic* geopolitics.

OLD THAD STEVENS: A STORY OF AMBITION. By Richard Nelson Current. University of Wisconsin Press. $3.

This is a well-written and well-documented biography of one of the most important figures of one of the crucial periods of American history—the era of Reconstruction. The political implications of the fight Stevens lost and the economic and social results of the fight he won are carefully brought out, but the man himself, one of the most unattractive figures in our history, does not arouse much personal sympathy even in his biographer.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF G. E. MOORE. Vol. IV of the Library of Living Philosophers. Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Northwestern University. $4.

This, the most technical of the volumes so far published in the series, is primarily for professional philosophers. G. E. Moore is distinguished for many reasons. He was among the first to re-establish the prestige of common-sense realism in modern Anglo-American philosophy. As an acute questioner and analyst he has few peers. He is perhaps the world's most skilful virtuoso in the art of epistemological chess. He can get more out of his perception of a match box or a patch of color than many other philosophers can derive from a wild imagination. The autobiographical pages in this volume, which will be the only ones intelligible to the general reader, are an unexpected delight. They portray, in a simple but graceful style, a single-minded devotion to philosophical activity that borders on saintliness. The environment in which G. E. Moore grew up, the schools and university life in England, are described in such a way that they seem to be scenes of a distant time from a different world. If there is a heaven, Mr. Moore will feel at home in it, provided the angels do more than sing.

GREENLAND. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

As a companion to his "Iceland," the well-known explorer-author has written a readable and comprehensive account of the history, geography, and strategic importance of this western outpost of Europe now occupied by our troops. Illustrated with photographs, line cuts, and revealing end-paper maps.

THE BURDEN OF BRITISH TAXATION. By G. Findlay Shirras and L. Rostas. The Macmillan Company. $3.

This study of the burden of British taxes on incomes of various size follows the technique of previous British studies of this nature and the technique of the Newcomer study published in the Twentieth Century Fund volume "Facing the Tax Problem." It estimates the total tax burden on families of different size having different incomes by directly estimating the amount of the various taxes which these particular units pay. No attempt is made to reconcile the burden thus set forth with the aggregate revenues by applying these burdens to some distribution of the population among the various income classes. For this reason the results are to be taken primarily as a measure of the relative burden on different incomes and cannot be accepted as a reliable measure of the general level of the burden except for purposes of comparison with previous studies using the same method. In particular, some rather arbitrary assumptions as to the expenditure of the various income classes for various items had to be made, since no British study comparable to that contained in "Consumer Expenditures in the United States" is available. The assumption is made that estates will be subject to the death duties once every generation, estimated at thirty-one years. This appears to be the really serious departure from reality. Actually under the pressure of increasingly high estate-tax rates the practice has grown both in this country and in Great Britain of spanning more than one generation by bequests directly to grandchildren and great-grandchildren or by creating trusts to this end. It appears probable that the method employed greatly overestimates the progressivity and probably the magnitude of the death-duty burden.

ART

TWENTY-FIVE IMPORTANT ACQUISITIONS. At the Primitives Gallery of Harry Stone, 555 Madison Avenue, until March 20.

Most of the twenty-five acquisitions are charming. There is something here to please everyone—the collector, the lover of good painting, or the detective who wishes to trace the artist, the time, or the place.

EXHIBITION OF MONOTYPES BY DEMETRIO URRUCHUA AND EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY LUIS HERRERRA GUEVARA. At Durlacher Brothers, 11 East Fifty-seventh Street, until March 20.

Two South American painters. Urruchua paints in monotype, a process whereby the paint is applied in reverse to a stone or glass slab, and the slab then run through a press for imprinting on a slightly absorbent paper. This process, the catalogue tells us, is popular in Argentina, but it seems elaborate for the

The BEAR That WALKS like a MAN
© Chicago Sun
A DIPLOMATIC & MILITARY ANALYSIS of SOVIET RUSSIA
by Stanley J. Marks
A MUST book to understand Russia today — and tomorrow
$3.00
DORRANCE & CO.
Phila., Pa.
Drexel Bldg.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quality of the work produced by Urruchua. His drawing has a slightly frightening quality which does not redeem the mediocrity of his inspiration. Guevara, a Chilean, appears to be a genuine primitive with a peasant's feeling for vivid color and formal design. One might tire of his paintings, but at first sight they are entrancing.

PAUL KLEE, ANDRE MASSON, AND SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT AND PRIMITIVE SCULPTURE. At the Buchholz Gallery, 32 East Fifty-seventh Street, until March 20.

Klee's pictures, twenty-seven in all, are intended to "illustrate his greater versatility," which, alas, they fail to do. The earlier ones, excluding Number 5 (and perhaps Number 4, which I could not find), show him as a great artist but not at his greatest. Masson is steadily becoming a finer painter, and his smaller pictures are rich and concentrated. But the exciting, the terrific thing in this exhibition is the sculpture. It is not to be missed.

JEAN CONNOLLY

MUSIC

IF AT 6:29 in the afternoon of February 28 you noticed your dog stirring restlessly and whining in his sleep and you felt uneasy yourself, that was because at this moment *The Nation's* music critic was near death from the most lethally dull of Bach's Sonatas for unaccompanied cello, No. 5 in C minor, which was being played at the final concert of the New Friends of Music by Luigi Silva, an excellent cellist and musician who on this occasion intensified the effect of the music by playing it with the dryest tone I have ever heard produced from a cello. Two minutes more and it would have been all over with me; but at 6:30—that was when Rover leaped up with a joyous yelp—Bach and Mr. Silva stopped, and Haydn and the Budapest Quartet resumed; and so I am alive to write the exciting story.

That concert illustrated an old New Friends weakness in program-making—the inability to distinguish between the works of great composers that are worth playing and the ones that should be left in obscurity. The concert a week before illustrated an old weakness in selection of artists. The New Friends' claim has always been that it—and it alone—attracts audiences with music, not with performers, and that having decided to give, say, Schumann's "Dichterliebe" or Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, it then looks for exactly the right artist for the particular work. Actually the New Friends, like other organizations, has always announced lists of performers along with its lists of works, in order to attract the audiences it would not have attracted otherwise. And for "Dichterliebe" it engaged Lotte Lehmann, who in addition to having box-office appeal is famous for her singing of the work; but for the "Goldberg" Variations on February 21 it engaged not Wanda Landowska but Rudolf Serkin, and did so not because of his reputation for competence in the work but because of his ability to fill the hall. The intense emotion which Mr. Serkin felt about the music was evident in the upflung arms which threatened to hit him in the eye and the gyrating body which threatened to slip off the chair, but not in the *Allegretto* rippling-off of those three great variations in minor which have so different a meaning and effect when played slowly and phrased with powerful tensions and momentums; nor did he reveal greater adequacy and comprehension in the tempos, phrasing, and style of the other variations, some of which he played with dazzling virtuosity. Nor was the choice of Busch and Serkin for performances of sonatas on February 14 an ideal one: they play together with remarkable feeling for ensemble performance, and Serkin does his best playing when stimulated and restrained by Busch; but he in turn does not seem to be able to stimulate Busch into producing something better than the thin, wiry tone and pallid phrasing that were heard in Bach's E major Sonata, and their playing in this great work was, as it often is, unimpressively small-scale.

The weaknesses I have mentioned are to be observed in the New Friends' announcement for next season. Beethoven's ten sonatas for violin and piano are to be played; and if the New Friends were concerned with exactly the right artists for the music it would have engaged with Szigeti either Franz Rupp or Artur Balsam, each of whom is a superlative ensemble pianist with temperament and style that are perfectly suited to Szigeti's; but being concerned with big-name performers it has engaged Claudio Arrau, an excellent musician but a solo pianist whose style is not well matched to Szigeti's. Beethoven's sixteen quartets are to be played; and again if the New Friends were concerned solely with the right artists for the music, and if it were genuinely concerned with "a more uniform standard" of performance "for this concentrated type of music" (whatever that means), it would not divide the works between the Budapest Quartet and the mediocre Busch Quartet, but would have all sixteen played by the Budapest group. Other works of Beethoven are to be played; and the program already announced for the first concert begins with the great Quartet Op. 127 but ends with one of the feeblest and dullest pieces of music Beethoven wrote, his Piano Quartet Op. 16, to be played by Serkin with members of the Busch Quartet. The series, then, will offer the mixture of good and bad in music and performance that all New Friends series have offered, and that most organizations offer without the New Friends' pretentiousness.

With the signing of a union contract the Boston Symphony Orchestra has begun to broadcast the first part of its Saturday night concert; and the fabulous beauty and refinement of sonority and execution survive the reduction of range caused by the telephone-wire transmission to points distant from Boston, and even the reduction in range in a small console radio (though they are heard with the interference that used to spoil Toscanini's Saturday night broadcasts). Not only, moreover, did the orchestra exhibit these qualities when Koussevitzky conducted it in his fabulous performance of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony, but one could recognize it as the same orchestra when Szell conducted it in a good performance of Schubert's C major Symphony. That tells us something about Szell, but it also tells us something about the Boston Symphony—something in which this orchestra differs from the New York Philharmonic-Symphony. At the time when the New York Philharmonic-Symphony was conducted by Toscanini and was a great orchestra I don't think one would have been able to say one had recognized it as the same orchestra if Szell had conducted it. The difference would have had something to do with Szell, but a great deal to do with the attitude of the orchestra. That attitude is as important in the present New York Philharmonic-Symphony crisis as the mismanagement of the orchestra's affairs by the board of directors and the business manager; and I hope to say more about both next time.

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Education—American Style

Dear Sirs: The Public Education Association is deeply disturbed by the continuous stream of misleading propaganda emanating from certain groups in New York city who claim to speak for America. These groups actually seek to pin the cause of the current unrest in our schools upon progressive education. Among other claims which have been made is the preposterous one that the activity program is the root of all evil, that it stems directly from Russia, that "Lenin demanded such a program be adopted for the training of children back in 1917-1920," and that America imported this "foreign" philosophy of education, thereby corrupting our educational system.

While one is tempted to treat so patently absurd a statement with the contempt it deserves, it seems necessary, in view of the widespread publicity it has received, to point out briefly its absurdity. These self-styled "patriots" do not seem ever to have heard of Horace Mann (though his name is a household word among educators), who lived from 1796 to 1859, and whose magnificent work in Massachusetts laid the foundation on which our entire educational system was built. Nor do they appear to know of Francis Parker, who was operating widely known progressive schools in Quincy, Massachusetts, and in Chicago, before 1900.

The philosophic basis of progressive education is the theory of pragmatism, developed by a third great American, William James, who died in 1910, and who, although one of the greatest geniuses this country has produced, seems also to have escaped these "patriots'" attention. John Dewey, who applied James's philosophy to education, wrote his educational classic, "School and Society," in 1899. "Schools of Tomorrow" by John and Evelyn Dewey, which describes numbers of progressive, or "activity," schools already operating in this country, appeared in 1915.

Therefore to talk about the activity program as having been imported from Russia is not only sheer nonsense, but is dishonest as well. The activity program is thoroughly American procedure. It was nurtured in our democratic society, because it meets the needs of that society. It encourages in children self-discipline and the ability to think and to make decisions; it makes the child aware of his responsibility to the community of which he is a part. The Public Education Association, believing this to be the logical type of education for Americans, wishes to see that program expanded.

Many persons have written to our newspapers recently demanding a return to formal, rigid methods of discipline in our schools. These persons even urge a return of the rule of the rod with its brutalizing effect on both teacher and pupil. *They* are the ones who seek the "foreign" formula, not the American. We must not allow them, in this time of emotional stress, to mask their ideas under the guise of Americanism. We must resist and confute their continuous reiteration of the statement that progressive thought and action is alien to America. Who could have been more progressive in thought and action than our founding fathers? Are we to regress to the restricted and repressive concepts from which they fled?

America is today, as it always has been, a forward-looking nation. The activity program is a practical method of educating for this American way of life. Our country has led the world with the concept of free schools and free education for all men. We have always pioneered. Today more than ever we must continue to push forward —not retreat.

MARGARET LEWISOHN, Director

New York, February 26

Mr. Meiklejohn Comments

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of February 27 you publish Professor Sidney Hook's review of my book, "Education Between Two Worlds." May I make three brief comments on that review?

First, Mr. Hook finds the book to be "a horrible object lesson in linguistic confusion." I regret, of course, that he holds that opinion. And yet I have no protest to offer against his expression of it. If Mr. Hook finds my thinking unclear, as I find his, he is in duty bound to say so.

Second, Mr. Hook's account of my argument is, I think, both inaccurate and misleading. In fact, he does not seem to me even to try to state for his reader my central problem in the form in which I was considering it. But, here again, I do not protest. I can only express regret that Mr. Hook's discussion does so little toward the clarification of an issue whose "social importance" is, for both of us, "enormous."

But, third, Mr. Hook uses, in place of clarification, a method against which I do protest. It is that of personal attack. Speaking of my "social and educational philosophy" he says, "Finally it is the 'Mein Kampf' of all frustrated administrators whose enlightened projects have been shipwrecked in the processes of democracy, who would like to ram them down their colleagues' throats, make them like it—and still remain democrats." I do not know what I may have done to arouse in Mr. Hook the personal bitterness of that characterization. But I do know that as criticism such a statement is unworthy either of a student of philosophy or of a reviewer for *The Nation.*

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

Washington, February 27

Dear Sirs: The sentence Mr. Meiklejohn quotes was not intended as a personal characterization of him or as a reflection on his educational practices, about which I know little. If I gave a different impression to him or to anyone else I am sincerely sorry. The paragraph in which the sentence appears enumerates three groups important in American life to whom Mr. Meiklejohn's social philosophy, in my judgment, will make a strong appeal. The group of "frustrated administrators" is mentioned as the third and last.

SIDNEY HOOK

New York, March 2

The SEC Is Right

Dear Sirs: What is all this hue and cry over the SEC's proposed regulation compelling a corporation to call for a stockholders' annual meeting at which any stockholder can say anything he wants to up to a hundred words?

Stockholders are the real owners of any corporate body. They elect the directors, who in turn elect the officers. Too many boards of directors have leaned too heavily toward perpetuation in office. They know that if a sufficient number of stockholders attend an "annual meeting of stockholders" and de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cide to elect an entire new board of directors, these "perpetuals" are *out,* including all present officers. But stockholders may be so widely scattered over the country that they never communicate with each other as to how they would like their property run differently. They merely receive notice of the call for the annual meeting, usually with no program whatsoever set forth. And to take care of any opposition, the management secures as many proxies from its friends as it deems necessary (freely solicited or maybe otherwise).

Every voter is a "stockholder" in the United States of America. He helps elect the Congressman who he feels has advanced a platform serving the best interests of his constituency. If this voter (in the mass) decides he no longer wants this Congressman (director) to remain as representative of his (stockholder's) interest (in America), the annual election meeting of stockholders is the time when such action is taken. And there is no doubt as to what the program is—the political rallies, the newspapers, and the radio have acquainted every voter with the two programs in view. Not so with the stockholders in a large corporation.

But some newspaper commentators have come out with, "What a field day for the blackmailer! What a wonderful chance for the 'strike-suit' lawyer who through buying a few shares of stock in a company could clean up a fortune on this SEC proxy ruling!" And in this connection one commentator mentions "crooks and shysters" as being given an open door to such a "field day."

This SEC ruling won't make any more "crooks, shysters, and blackmailers" among a corporation's stockholders than there are now. The moral rectitude of a prospective shareholder is never questioned once his checkbook is opened and his pen is dipped in ink. From the opposition by corporations to this SEC ruling one would almost think that the directors considered themselves the only ones above reproach.

When corporate bodies enlist the aid of public commentators to prevent—as coming under "blackmailing, shysterism," etc.—one or a thousand stockholder-owners from learning, in advance of any annual meeting, the opinions of other stockholder-owners as to the present or future operations of the corporation, then it rather looks as if the directors of *some* corporations have a "nut in the fire" and that they are afraid to be the "cat's-paw" to pull it out. Financial history has shown only too truly the need for stockholder-owners to know more about what their elected directors have been up to.

GRIDLEY ADAMS

New York, February 25

For Civilian Control

Dear Sirs: As I. F. Stone pointed out recently, Baruch sides with the army and navy in wanting military control of production. Like Mr. Stone, I would prefer to see such control in the hands of civilians. But many people seem to feel this must mean that a civilian will decide whether we shall have tanks or guns, etc.

Is not the problem much simpler? Yes! let the armed forces list their needs—but let all control for their production with all possible speed be in civilian hands. HILDA H. ABRAMS

New York, February 24

From Such Liberals . . .

Dear Sirs: The article on Hull and the Press in your issue of February 6 makes timely a few remarks on the mystery of how Hull became classified as a liberal. He is so thought of by most persons, and yet his record in the critical period prior to the war was clearly one favoring reactionary elements. The record of the State Department in its handling of Vichy and North Africa is not one which on the surface shows a liberal temper, but it may be too early to judge the complexities of that kaleidoscopic epic. Temporarily the State Department may be given the benefit of doubt in judging the character of our appointees and those Frenchmen who have been given posts of importance despite their records of appeasement and as hangmen for Pétain.

If the record of the State Department prior to the war had shown a clear understanding of the growing Nazi menace, our judgment could be further withheld. However, that record is no credit to the State Department. One good instance will show up that record. On May 7, 1938, the New York *Times* published on page 1 a two-column article headed Hull Clashes with a Columnist on Arms Exports to Germany. The incident was important enough so that a full transcript of the press conference was published that day on page 6 of the *Times.* This transcript was edited by Mr. Hull. In it it appears that he assumed full responsibility for the export permits which had been granted for the shipment of arms and munitions to Germany. These shipments could not be made under our treaty with Germany without explicit and written permits from the State Department.

Mr. Hull took the position that the treaty provided "Germany should not rearm" and did not provide that we might not rearm Germany. Statements by reporters indicating surprise at such flouting of a clear moral issue brought forth from Mr. Hull his usual petulant remarks about the unfairness of reporters. He made some cynical references to cornfield lawyers who did not understand the fine points of legal terminology, and said that his good lawyers at the State Department had justified the export of arms to our potential enemies despite the treaty provisions.

From such liberals as Hull we need more protection than from avowed fascists whose aims are clearly understood. JACOB MARK

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 7

No Wilder Than Babbitt

Dear Sirs: Mr. Edmund Wilson, in *The Nation* of January 30, dismisses the Joyce-Wilder controversy by stating that it can scarcely be controversial, since Mr. Wilder has so openly delved in the Joyce mine.

In the course of his remarks he writes that "the general indebtedness to Joyce in the conception and plan of Wilder's play is as plain as anything of the kind can be"; and that "what Wilder is trying to do is quite distinct from what Joyce is doing." Is there some mild contradiction in these two statements?

It would be perfectly easy to trace "The Skin of Our Teeth" back, not to "Finnegans Wake," but to Mr. Wilder's own work. Surely, to go no farther afield than "Our Town," the general indebtedness is quite plain also. The characters of Gladys and Henry find exact prototypes in a one-act play entitled "The Happy Journey to Camden and Trenton," published as long ago as 1931. Mrs. Antrobus also appears importantly in "The Happy Journey"; but then she appears in almost every book and play that Mr. Wilder has written. Mr. Antrobus is, of course, rather an old type—Man. Some of his lineaments are quite distinct in most of Mr. Wilder's male characters; and George Brush, hero of "Heaven's My

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Destination," besides being Man, was also wanted by the police. Mrs. Antrobus's letter, which smells so strongly to Mr. Wilson and others of the miner's pickax, dates back to a scene in "The Woman of Andros," published in 1930.

Mr. Wilson reproaches Mr. Wilder for using the cheap device of having Abel killed by Cain, instead of following Joyce, who kept both Shaun and Shem constantly alive. Mr. Wilder's model for this, as for others of his themes, is a Book considerably older than "Finnegans Wake."

Mr. Wilson also objects to Mr. Wilder's treatment of Sabina, as compared with Joyce's or even with Shaw's Lilith, who at least always breaks up the pattern and leads (*natürlich!*) to something different and higher. Mr. Wilder's Sabina, it seems, is conventional and even a little philistine.

Mr. Wilson seems not to realize that Mr. Wilder is preeminently philistine. He is George F. Babbitt turned poet. He has left the real-estate business and taken to the lyre; but his songs are only long nostalgias for those happy real-estate days. This is the true and hitherto secret explanation of Mr. Wilder's success with the philistine populace. In this he differs from James Joyce.

He differs in several other respects also. Joyce was the most skilful dissector of our age. He stripped the secret flesh of man down to the last wretched ganglion; and left on the operating table a heap of bloody though fascinating pulp. If Mr. Wilder has used this pulp, it is in a rather remarkable fashion: he must have assembled the lumps of flesh, the broken bones, and the severed nerves, and, bursting into laughter, blown the breath of life back into the corpse. Mr. Wilson, perhaps hankering for the fresh breezes of the morgue, finds this Lazarus, as exemplified by the Antrobuses, rather too cozy.

A long time ago Joyce wrote, at the end of a book more intelligible to the illiterate than "Finnegans Wake": "I go to forge a new conscience for the race." Mr. Wilder appears strangely content with the old conscience.

Mr. Wilson says that he does not consider "The Skin of Our Teeth" one of Wilder's very best things. We would be fascinated to learn which one of Mr. Wilder's other books or plays he does so consider. With the exception of "The Cabala," a boyish effort, Mr. Wilder, like most important writers, has written on one theme only. "The Skin of Our Teeth" is the most complete and moving treatment of that theme that he has so far produced. Is it possible that Mr. Wilson is unaware of Mr. Wilder's theme?

M. MC GRATH

East Orange, N. J., February 23

Liquor and Law

Dear Sirs: In the issue of *The Nation* of January 16 a contributor criticizes you for saying that conditions under prohibition were worse than before the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment, and that such a statement from a liberal shakes his confidence in his liberalism. In reply I would say that millions of people today are in accord with your statement.

We talk glibly about prohibition without realizing that no prohibitive law ever prohibits, and the pretense that it does only tempts the young and adventurous to violate the law just to show he can get what he wants, regardless of enforcement officers or the law. Under the Eighteenth Amendment we had what was much worse than the open saloon. We had bootleg, dark-alley, and dark-cellar groggeries, school-children's booze parties as well as adults' orgies, all for the sake of profits.

It has been my privilege to live in a city with dozens of wide-open saloons; yet there has never been the debauchery that obtained in an adjoining district afflicted with the privilege to sell while a nearby city had voted dry. Such conditions were found all over the country. Hence neither local option nor prohibition is a remedy for the evils of the liquor traffic. Any district can get whichever evils it wants by its votes. If it votes dry it will have bootleg and the speakeasy. If it votes wet it has the debauchery of the open saloon.

Probably not all of the evils of intoxicating liquor can be eliminated without generations of education. However, the major portion of the evils may be destroyed now, or whenever the people are willing to forgo profits to banish the vice.

A moment's reflection will convince any thinker that the sole motive for dealing in or manufacturing intoxicants is the profit derived therefrom. The federal government receives many millions of dollars from the traffic. Many millions more are taken by the distillers, wholesalers, retailers, bootleggers, and others.

If then the government would take over the manufacture and distribution of all intoxicating beverages and sell direct to the consumer, at cost, in limited quantity and in original packages, and if consumption on the premises where it was sold was prohibited, such an act could be enforced and would reduce the evils to a minimum. It is because of what I learned, before, during, and since the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, that I resolved never again to vote for prohibition or local option. However, if the people will start a movement as outlined above, they can count on me 100 per cent.

GEORGE HEFFNER

Pasadena, Cal., February 7

CONTRIBUTORS

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, Librarian of Congress, last month resigned as assistant director of the OWI. He has written several volumes of poetry, plays, and criticism; "Conquistador," a long narrative poem, won the Pulitzer prize in 1932.

JOACHIM JOESTEN, author of "Rats in the Larder," a study of Nazi influence in Denmark, is an assistant editor of *Newsweek* on the foreign desk.

JAMES G. PATTON is the president of the National Farmers' Union.

JAMES A. WECHSLER, formerly on the staff of *The Nation*, is in the Washington bureau of *PM*.

LYNN RIGGS, author of "Green Grow the Lilacs," "Russet Mantle," and other plays, is now a corporal in the United States army.

GAETANO SALVEMINI is Lauro de Bosis lecturer on the history of Italian civilization at Harvard University.

ROBERT K. HAAS, lieutenant colonel on the General Staff of the New York State Guard, commanded the Headquarters Company of the 308th Infantry in France during the First World War.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

THE CRISIS IN WORLD FREEDOM

Nation readers are invited to participate in a discussion of present dangers in the American political trend

Chairman:

Mrs. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN

Speakers: Louis Dolivet, Howard Brooks

Monday, MARCH 15, 8 P. M.

Labor Stage Theatre, 106 W. 39th St.

Auspices: American Free World Association
8 W. 40th St., N. Y. C. Admission: 50¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A MEMORIAL MEETING

for

DR. HELENE STOCKER

noted German pacifist and feminist

will be held on

Sun., March 14, at 4 p.m.

in the

Ethical Culture Society Auditorium

at

63 St. & Central Park W. New York City

●

(Dr. Stocker, famous throughout Europe as lecturer and author, was founder and editor of the monthly journal, *The New Generation.* She was forced to leave Germany in 1933, immediately after Hitler came to power and had been living in the United States since 1941.)

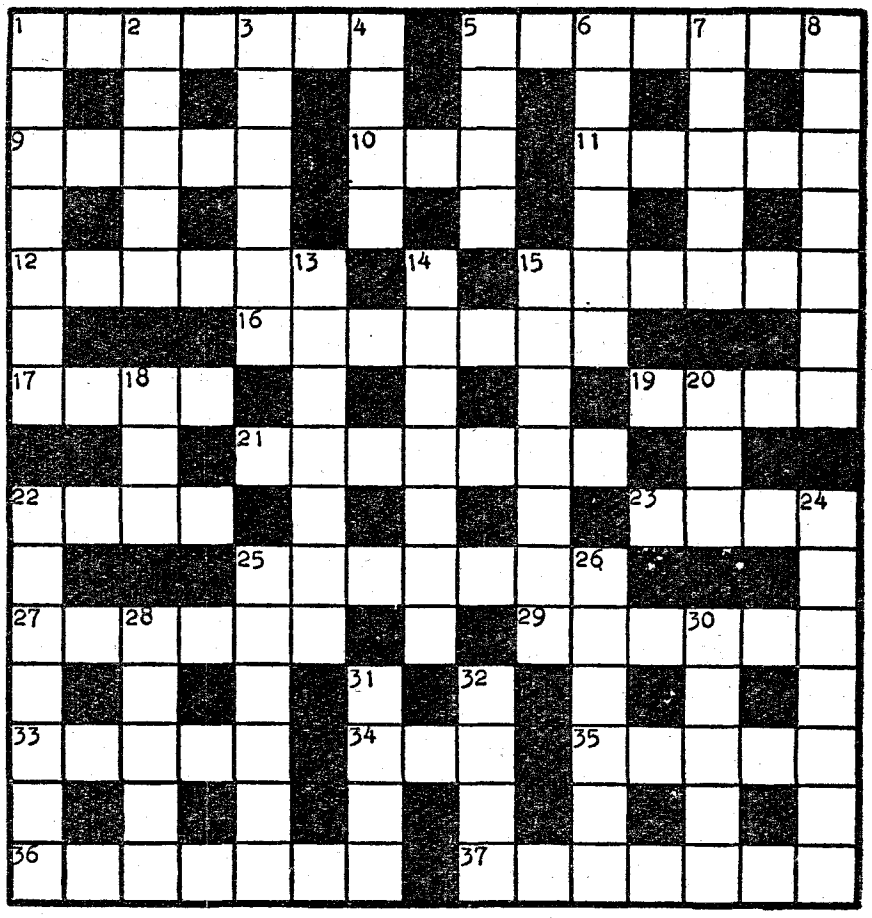
OUR MEN WANT BOOKS★

SEND ALL YOU CAN SPARE

Help a man in uniform enjoy his leisure hours. Give your good books to the 1943 VICTORY BOOK CAMPAIGN. Leave them at the nearest collection center or public library.

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 4

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Associated with a poet in a popular overture
5 *Led a run* to wash and iron
9 The French and the English are in this mythical river
10 It did for Cleopatra
11 Opposed to rural
12 A raid, or *no raid*
15 Confer
16 A solvent colonist?
17 That reminds me!
19 Welcome! but not in summer
21 Contempt when *Dad is in* for a change
22 Gasp, and you'll need a couple for your wardrobe
23 It sounds a weird lake
25 Seems to make *me older*
27 Damage started by a little devil
29 This fishing-vessel should be able to stick it
33 Solar helmet
34 Turns the vicar into his residence
35 The bull's neighbor
36 Here a *red tale* is unfolded
37 Rum finish to a fit of ill-temper

DOWN

1 Back seat often willingly taken
2 A flower in *tears*
3 Scenes of action
4 Don't tip this waiter
5 Cigarette holder
6 Extraordinary interest is shown in his books
7 Often mentioned with credit
8 Necessary in order to make a thing *real new*
13 What carriers do—and free, too!
14 Artists' workshops
15 In addition, little Sidney is among the bees
18 Better that the Sun should do it than the father
20 Is broadcast daily through itself
22 He is proud of his execution and likes to be hung
24 Is this responsible for head noises
25 The fruit which falls first
26 A great number, for example in the king of beasts
28 These bulls may fulminate, but they never bellow
30 Ocean greyhound
31 Placed face up, so to speak
32 An all-round supporter

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 3

ACROSS:—1 DASTARD; 5 TUGBOAT; 9 STROKES; 10 ESTATES; 11 ADELE; 12 USA; 13 STAGE; 14 RETINUE; 16 LARGESS; 18 ATHLETE; 21 SECONDS; 24 CABLE; 26 MOO; 27 AISLE; 28 SIT DOWN; 29 GUSHERS; 30 ROTTERS; 31 NONAGON.

DOWN:—1 DESPAIR; 2 SERPENT; 3 ANKLE; 4 DISPUTE; 5 TOENAIL; 6 GATES; 7 OUTRAGE; 8 TESTERS; 15 NEE; 17 ROC; 18 ACCUSER; 19 HABITAT; 20 ERMINES; 21 SLOE GIN; 22 NEST-EGG; 23 STETSON; 25 ELOPE; 27 ARSON.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED